

WALL-PAINTINGS FROM A NEO-ASSYRIAN BUILDING AT TIL BARSIB

BY

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The excavation of room 1 in the partially exposed Neo-Assyrian building of Area E led to the discovery of a group of wall-painting fragments.¹ Unfortunately, it was impossible to make a complete reconstruction of their decorative patterns due to their deteriorated condition. All the fragments had been detached from the wall and lay scattered amongst the collapse on the room's floor.²

DESCRIPTION

The percentage of white painted fragments is remarkably higher than the percentage of decorated fragments.³ This is probably not just the result of the fragments' state of preservation. It no doubt also corresponds to the respective extent of decorated and undecorated surfaces. An analysis of the fragments themselves points to multiple coatings of colour applied to two distinct layers of plaster:

1. Onto the first layer of clay-plaster, two or three coats of undecorated white lime (thickness 1-1.5 mm) were laid.

2. At a later date, a second layer of clay-plaster (thickness 3-7.5 mm) was laid onto this first white lime layer. Then, on top of this, another coating of white lime (thickness c. 0.5 mm) was applied. It was on this that the first wall-painting, a pattern of red-pink lines (frags. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19; thickness 7-18 mm) and fine black circles (frags. 10, 11, 12, 13; thickness 2-3 mm) was made.

3. An analysis of a group of these fragments (Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20) shows that this pattern was subsequently covered with a

¹ On the excavations in Area E, see provisionally G. Bunnens, "Melbourne University excavations at Tell Ahmar: Short report on the 1989-1992 seasons", *Akkadica*, 79-80 (1992), pp. 6-7; Id., "Ahmar", in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 98 (1994), pp. 150-151; Id., "Tall Ahmar/Til Barsip", *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 40-41 (1993-1994), pp. 224-225.

² Maximum width of fragments: 24.9 cm; maximum height: 17.4 cm.

³ Total of 23 fragments: Pls I-III.

new layer of white paint (thickness c. 0.7mm), upon which a second decorative pattern was painted. This later pattern consisted of concentric black rings (thickness 2-12 mm), containing a central disk of the same colour (diameter 3.5-4.5 cm), and bands (4.5-4.9 cm wide) formed by thick black lines (thickness 8-11mm) lying equidistant from each other (thickness 9-13 mm). These bands seem to both define and make up the width of the composition. The contrast in colour between the black rings on the white background recalls the well known 'target' motif.⁴ It is interesting to note that the black lines of the second pattern are placed above the red-pink lines of the original pattern. Only one example (no.18), shows a red line perpendicular to the overhanging black line.

Fragments 21 and 22 differ from those already mentioned in that they both display a different decorative pattern and have only a single layer of white lime. However, the monochromatic style of painting is retained. A series of black lines (thickness 1-5 mm), outlined the petals of a flower (lotus) which had been mutilated at its extremities. On the left of the flower is a sort of double circle with triangular rays extending outward from the outer circle. This too is incomplete.

Associated with this last group by its style, is no. 23. This triple fragmented piece depicts four black lines (thickness 1-5 mm) drawn perpendicular to each other. It is difficult to say whether these three fragments belong to the first or the second wall-painting, as none of the decorative motifs of either painting appear on these pieces. The fact that the painted lines of these fragments are very similar to those of the first wall-painting does suggest the use of the same brush (and possibly even the same hand); however, the fact that these fragments did not receive a second layer of white lime like the first wall-painting weakens this hypothesis. Nevertheless, it is possible that, due to the wall's collapse or the fragments' prolonged adhesion to the ground, the second layer of white-wash was separated from the paintings. In this way, it is also possible to explain why only three pieces of this type of decorative pattern were discovered, as it is likely that most of the white surface fragments found scattered on the floor of room I also belonged to this decorative scheme.

It is equally difficult to interpret fragments 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20. Number 17 shows a black surface on which a white corner is visible, which can also be seen on fragments 10 and 14. Given the fact that the

⁴ It is defined as a bull's eye motif by M.E.L. Mallowan, "The excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1949-1950", *Iraq*, 12 (1950), p. 164.

underlying red lines of the first wall-painting are visible, and that they are distinguishable from the geometrical pattern of the 'target motif', these pieces reveal that a black pictorial element was developing from the external black lines of the second wall-painting. The same should be considered for fragments 18 and 19, especially since the portion of black line visible on fragment 19 is too wide (thickness 1.4-1.6 mm) to be part of one of the black lines. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that fragments 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20, were part of another decorative pattern which directly contrasted with the monochrome decoration of the 'target'.

The last piece (no. 3) is a fragment with three black lines, which was once part of the edge of the wall. This piece is clearly part of the second monochrome decoration (for its integration into the whole decoration, see below, p. 4).

RECONSTRUCTION

1. The First Wall-Painting

The reconstruction of the first wall-painting (Pl. III, fig. 1) is primarily based on an iconographic comparison with the later decorative pattern which was very similar to the first monochrome painting. The similarity between the second decorative pattern and other wall-paintings, whose patterns have already been studied and categorized, permitted an understanding of the decorative scheme of the first decoration: three horizontal bands, equidistant from each other and each composed of three red lines, also parallel and equidistant. In turn, the central band was decorated with black rings (frags. 10, 11, 12, 13). The fragmentary nature of the pieces makes it almost impossible to know the frequency and the exact placement of the rings on the decorative pattern.

No documentation, which resembles the decoration in question, has been found, with lines crossing the rings (frags. 10, 12, 13). Usually, lines of this type of pattern do not penetrate or cross the circular element, as they do here. On the other hand, the idea that this geometrical pattern of red lines may have been a brief sketch used to help the artist to draw the second decoration may be excluded; it would neither explain the change of colour, red for the straight lines and black for the circles, nor the way in which the decoration received the white lime before the successive pattern was applied. When such a preparation can be identified,⁵ it is often

⁵ For instance in the palace of Til Barsib, see F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib*, Paris 1936, p. 48.

partially visible under the final decoration because, unlike the new Tell Ahmar paintings, it has not been covered by a white coat.

The simplicity of this decorative pattern was offset by the use of polychromy (red and black on a white background). It may also have been enriched by other elements if the lotus flower and radiating circle design can be considered to have belonged to this group of fragments. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish the representative roles of the polychrome pattern and the floral monochrome one in the whole of the wall-painting because there is no evidence of any real connection between them. The motif of the lotus flower is well known in the Mesopotamian world and in several decorative friezes the frequency of its depiction causes it to become the dominant pattern. Nevertheless, in Area E at Til Barsib, the flower is drawn with much more descriptive detail than is common with the typical lotus flower, which is almost exclusively stylized in its essential form.

In the throne room at Fort Shalmeneser,⁶ room 12 of Building K at Khorsabad,⁷ rooms XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXVI, XLVI, and XLVII of the palace at Til Barsib⁸, and the 'royal room' of the palace at Arslan Tash,⁹ the use of decorated circles and of geometrical motifs with curved outlines, alternating with each other or as divisive elements between facing bulls, goats or winged human-headed genies, can be equally noted. Also, it is possible, albeit tentatively, to suggest here the presence of a floral frieze mixed with the motif of the double radiating circle. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that those pieces were part of a more complex pictorial composition cannot be excluded. In fact it is possible to suggest that the 'unstylized' lotus flower and the double radiating circle show more affinity with a halo,¹⁰ than with a series of concentric rings decorated inside and which do not have rays. Fragment 23 supports a pictorial rather than a geometrical composition, which thus excludes any possible connection with the geometrical friezes. Therefore, it is more logical to insert this fragment in a pictorial composition. The complexity of reconstruction is increased by fragment 15, on which four red parallel lines are visible. It is difficult to offer a satisfactory explanation of the decoration which is partially visible on this fragment.

⁶ M.E.L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, London 1966, II, pp. 380-381, figs. 307-308.

⁷ C.B. Altman, "Painted plaster decoration", in G. Loud *et al.*, *Khorsabad*, II, *The Citadel and the Town*, OIP 40, Chicago 1938, pp. 83-85, Pls. 31B, 89.

⁸ F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, *op. cit.* (n. 5), Pls XLV-XLVII.

⁹ F. Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, Paris 1931, Pls. XVII: 1-2, XLVIII: 1.

¹⁰ See A. Parrot, *Assur*, Paris 1961, p. 227, fig. 282.

Hypothetically, I would suggest that the lines are to be recognized as being part of a framing motif, perhaps the frame of an opening or a niche in the wall. This supposition seems to be confirmed by the second wall-painting.

2. The Second Wall-Painting

After careful analysis, the most logical reconstruction of the pieces of this painting identifies the main pattern as a geometrical monochrome frieze (Pl. III, fig. 2). The pattern is made up of four concentric black rings containing a central disk of the same colour. Above and underneath them are three black parallel and equidistant lines which define the width of the composition (ca. 30 cm). In the middle of the design are three black lines, identical to the previous ones. These divide the space enclosed by the outer lines into two bands. This space is also decorated with little black 'targets', consisting of two rings containing a black disk. Geometrical patterns of concentric rings were used in the Ancient Near East as decorative elements of Assyrian court clothing¹¹, and also components of paintings and architecture.¹² Moreover, in wall-painting decoration we have several examples of concentric rings, with or without the central disk, which can be categorized as functional or typological variants. In this group the following may be placed: the decorative frieze of rooms XXII, XLVI, and XLVII in the palace of Til Barsib;¹³ the decorative band above the asphalt plinth in the Women's Apartment of the same palace;¹⁴ the decoration of room 12 in the palace at Dur-Sharrukin¹⁵ and in the throne room of Sargon II in the same palace¹⁶; in room 12 of building K also at Dur-Sharrukin;¹⁷ in the Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh;¹⁸ in building T, locus 8151, Wall 1, North

¹¹ See the stone bas-relief from Nineveh, M.T. Barrelet, "Un inventaire de Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta: Textiles décorés assyriens et autres", *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 71 (1977), p. 53, fig. 2c; F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, *op. cit.* (n. 5), Pl. LIII, royal bathroom of the palace, figs. XXVIIc,e; R.D. Barnett & Amiet Lorenzini, *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, Toronto 1975, Pl. 76, Nineveh, South-West Palace, room XXXVI; Pls. 122, 125, 131, Nineveh, Palace of Ashurbanipal, room 8, Upper Chambers.

¹² F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, *op. cit.* (n. 5), Plan B, corridor XLIX, court XLIII, and access to the main door of the palace.

¹³ F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, *op. cit.* (n. 5), Pls. XLV, XLVI.

¹⁴ F. Thureau-Dangin & M. Dunand, *op. cit.* (n. 5), Pl. LII, figs XLVII:a,b,c

¹⁵ G. Loud, *Khorsabad, I, Excavation in the Palace and at the City Gate*, OIP 38, Chicago 1936, Bathroom of Sargon II, Pl. I, p. 23.

¹⁶ G. Loud, *op. cit.* (n. 15), Pl. II, Room VII, p. 67ff.

¹⁷ C.B. Altman, *op. cit.* (n. 7), Pls. 31B, 89, pp. 83-85.

¹⁸ R. Campbell Thompson & R.W. Hutchinson, "The site of the palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh, excavated in 1929-30 on Behalf of the British Museum", *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 18 (1931), Pl. XXIX, figs 6 & 9; 'chamber IV':11, 12.

side, Wall 2, South side, in Tell Sheikh Hamad / Dur-Katlimmu;¹⁹ the base and bands between the lotus flowers of Wall 18.1.18;²⁰ as the median band of the frieze of N/W corner of room B, in building G, Lower City 2, also in Dur-Katlimmu;²¹ the frieze of room XLII in the Arslan Tash palace;²² the 'ekal māšarti' at Nimrud;²³ the frieze of the 'Governor's Palace' in Nimrud and especially the one in the 'Ablution' room.²⁴

The parallel between Area E and Nimrud helps to set fragment 3 in the decorative context of the second wall-painting. As was previously described, this fragment contained a depiction of a portion of a pattern containing three parallel black lines which had been arranged along the border of a lime painted corner. The fact that, at Nimrud,²⁵ niches were often decorated by black parallel lines, suggests a similar use with the same function for Area E of Til Barsib. The presence of niches or windows decorated with parallel lines can also be suggested for the first wall-painting and can be confirmed by the second wall-painting which was developing a decoration of black bands (frgs. 14, 18), probably quite wide (frgs. 14-18), perpendicular to the geometric frieze. On the basis of those black bands and their geometrical arrangement, it is possible to suggest that the monochrome bands were part of a niche or a window (even if windows were placed at the top of the walls), and it is to these that fragment 3 could belong.

CHRONOLOGY

The wall-paintings of the Til Barsib Palace lie, chronologically, between the periods of Tiglathpileser III (744-727) and Ashurbanipal (668-627);²⁶ the date of the 'Governor's Palace' in Nimrud stretches from the reign of Adad-nirari III (810-783) to that of Sennacherib (704-681);²⁷ the decoration

¹⁹ H. Kühne, "Tall Šeḥ Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu", *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 31 (1984), pp. 171-172, figs. 63a, 63b.

²⁰ H. Kühne, "Gedanken zur historischen und städtebaulichen Entwicklung der assyrischen Stadt Dür-Katlimmu", in P. Matthiae *et al.* (eds.), *Resurrecting the Past*, Istanbul 1990, p. 77, fig. 138.

²¹ H. Kühne, "Vier spätbabylonische Tontafeln aus Tall Šeḥ Ḥamad, Ost Syrien", *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*, 7 (1993), pp. 77-78, fig. 6.

²² F. Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 9), Pl. XLVIII, fig. 2; *ibid.* Pl. III, fig. 5.

²³ J. Reade, "Narrative composition in Assyrian sculpture", *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 10 (1979), Pl. 11b.

²⁴ M.E.L. Mallowan, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), Pl. XXX.

²⁵ M.E.L. Mallowan, *op. cit.* (n. 6), I, p. 40.

²⁶ A. Nunn, *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im alten Orient*, Leiden 1988, pp. 118-122.

²⁷ M.E.L. Mallowan, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), p. 187.

of Arslan Tash is dated to the time of Tiglathpileser III;²⁸ the wall paintings in Khorsabad are attributed to Sargon II (721-705).²⁹ With regard to Dur-Katlimmu, the occupation of the Lower City falls somewhere between the second half of the 8th and the end of the 7th centuries B.C.³⁰ (the available archaeological evidence still does not allow a more precise chronological setting). A comparative analysis of the wall-paintings of these sites is only able to suggest that the *terminus post quem* for the wall-paintings in Area E at Til Barsib is the reign of Adad-nirari III, and the *terminus ante quem* is the reign of Ashurbanipal. The dating of the frieze in Area E is even more uncertain as very few material was found in the building that it decorated.

²⁸ F. Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 40.

²⁹ G. Loud, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 23.

³⁰ H. Kühne, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 88.

Plate I



No. 1



No. 2



No. 3



Section



No. 4



No. 5



No. 6



No. 7



No. 8



No. 9

Key:





-  Red-pink
-  Brown (= mud-plaster)
-  Black
-  White



Plate II

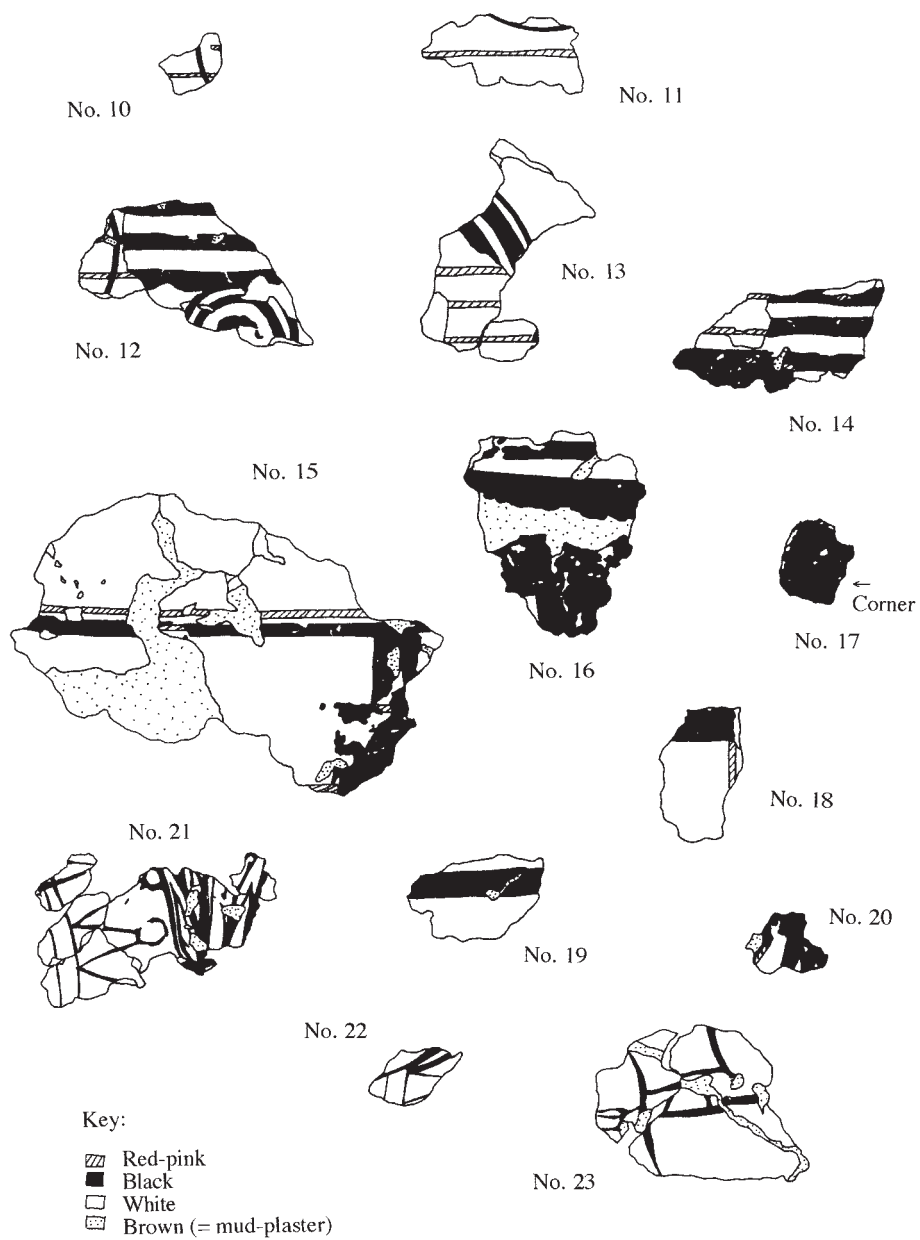


Plate III

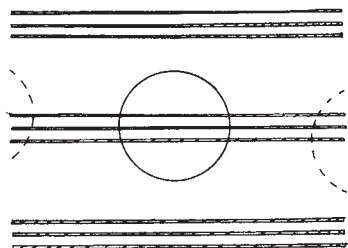


FIGURE 1
Reconstruction of the
first wall-painting

FIGURE 2
Reconstruction of the
second wall-painting

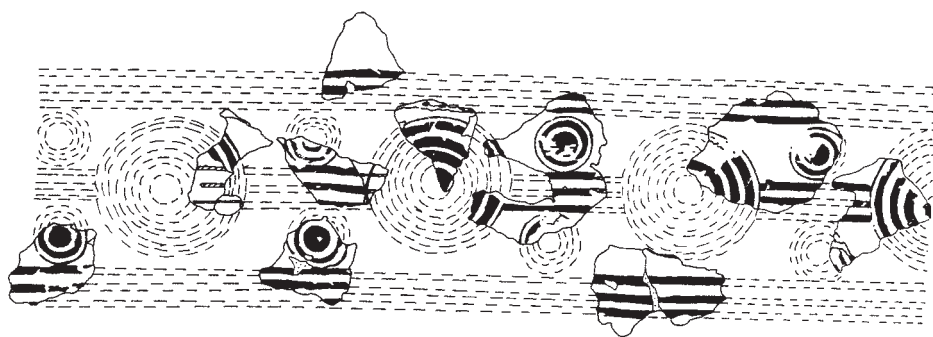
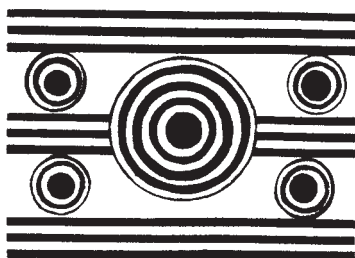


FIGURE 3 Hypothetical position of the pieces with geometrical pattern

NEW BRONZE AGE TEXTS
FROM THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES
A REVIEW ARTICLE*

BY

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Since texts from Meskene Qadime, the ancient Emar, or from that vicinity, continue to appear in various journals, translated and edited by various authors, it is timely to have a further corpus of texts from the epigrapher of the original excavation, Daniel Arnaud. Herein the latter has added a substantial number of Akkadian texts to the already large corpus from the excavation during the 1970's, published elsewhere in separate volumes.¹ Mention must also be made of Arnaud's publication of three smaller collections of scattered texts, the first of which is reproduced in the volume under review, viz. the three letters numbered 94-96.²

Apart from publications of texts, commentaries on their content and contribution to our understanding of ancient Syria have already appeared,³ thus the significance of these texts for our knowledge of many aspects of ancient Near Eastern society will continue to grow. As such all in the field are indebted to Dr. Arnaud for this additional block of primary source material.

The volume has a comprehensive introduction on various aspects of the texts. The first 101 texts are subdivided as follows:

Property purchases from Ninurta and the elders of the town	nos. 1-19
Family archives, ten families in all	nos. 20-51

* Review of Daniel Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent avec une contribution d'Hatice Gonnet, Sceaux hiéroglyphiques anatoliens de Syrie*, Aula Orientalis, Supplementa, 1, Barcelona 1991.

In addition to those in *CAD* Š, the following abbreviations will be used: *AO*: *Aula Orientalis*; *AOS* 1: the volume under review; *ASJ*: *Acta Sumerologica Japonica*; *HCCT*: Hirayama Collection of Cuneiform Tablets, edited by A. Tsukimoto, *ASJ*, 12 (1990), pp. 177-227, and 13 (1991), pp. 275-333; *Emar* VI/3: D. Arnaud, *Textes sumériens et accadiens*, Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar VI/3, Paris 1986.

¹ D. Arnaud, *Textes sumériens et accadiens*, Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar Vol.VI/1, Vol. VI/2, & Vol. VI/3, Paris 1985-1986; *Textes de la bibliothèque: transcriptions et traductions*, Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar, Vol.VI/4, Paris 1987.

² First published in *AO*, 2 (1984), pp. 179-88. More texts were published by D. Arnaud in *AO*, 5 (1987), pp. 211-241, and *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, 30 (1992), pp. 195-248.

Various contracts, including sales, testaments, property distributions between heirs	nos. 52-93
Letters, administrative texts, and fragments	nos. 94-101

The remaining texts are six ration tablets from Cheik Hamad, all dated with the limu, month and day of the standard middle-Assyrian calendar.⁴ Finally, text 107 is a letter from an Ewri-kili, possibly the same individual attested several times in other Ugaritic texts, to an unnamed king of Ugarit.

Unlike the volume from the official excavation, this one has a full index of toponyms, names of deities, and personal names. To this is added within the same covers a full set cuneiform transcriptions. The additional segment of the volume consists of a full discussion, with a classified comparative table of the seal impressions appearing on each tablet bearing such impressions, of the glyptic motifs and the Hittite hieroglyphs. Line drawings of significant index motifs in the seal impressions are matched with quality photographs (for the most part).

The following discussion will limit itself to the Akkadian tablets.

The first and obvious point, as Arnaud notes (p. 9), is that their precise provenance is unknown. Many are suspected to be from Emar, but some almost certainly are not. Even of those that are, there is no way of ascertaining from what locus they came or in what context they lay. After the official excavation much of the site was brutalised with bulldozers and trench diggers in a search for tablets⁵; similarly with other neighbouring sites. Thus the first nineteen tablets are clearly from Emar, since they bear the names of the Emarite royal family in their lists of witnesses; likewise the dynasty of Awiru in nos. 20-26 is most likely from Emar. By contrast the families in texts 39-40 and 43-49 seem to come from elsewhere (possibly Munbaqa), on the basis of onomastic formulaic data, though Arnaud admits that internal evidence is inconclusive.

For all this, at least some texts must be aligned with other numbers in this same volume. Arnaud cites nos. 37 and 38. The former links with no. 29 because of family ties, while with the latter the usual rule of the purchaser retaining his tablet is reversed. This tablet properly belongs with no. 37, another property transaction involving Marianni. Equally, some tablets

³ Notably J.M. Durand, *RA*, 83 (1989), pp. 163-91 & 84 (1990), pp. 49-85; W.F. Leemans, "Aperçu sur les textes juridiques d'Emar", *JESHO*, 31 (1988), pp. 207-42; M. Dietrich, "Die akkadischen Texte der Archive und Bibliotheken von Emar", *UF*, 22 (1990), pp. 25-48.

⁴ Month of Hibur (3 times), Ša-sarate and Allānātu each once. Cf. H. Hunger, "Kalender", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 5 (1980), pp. 297-303.

⁵ Personal communication from Prof. Margueron.

align with numbers in the official corpus, again on the basis of onomastic and prosopographic data. Thus for the important matter of external relations the family of Mutri-Tešub, whose members in turn held the position of LÚ.UGULA.KALAM.MA: “overseer of the country”, are found in five texts of the current volume⁶, and six from the official corpus.⁷ From these we can construct a family tree of this important official, along with his two sons, Kili-Šarruma and Laheia, and in what order the office passed to each one. Likewise, a certain Abi-Rašap who held the position of town mayor (LÚ.*ḫazannu*) is attested in two official texts⁸ plus three from the present volume.⁹ These and similar occurrences assist in confirmation of identity of various individuals, and in addition provide the basis for useful synchronisms.

WILLS AND TESTAMENTS

To an already large corpus of these documents, by far the largest from any ancient site, the new publication adds another five, formally the *šimti šāmu* texts, along with thirteen more involving both adoption and arrangement of affairs in the family. As with those from the regular excavation, the witnesses to these contracts seem to be either family members, or those with some family connection. High officials are not normally associated unless they have a direct involvement, though when the local king, for example, does appear on the document, it is difficult to determine what precisely that involvement is. Huehnergard has published four wills, two of which are witnessed by the then-ruling king of Emar, Elli and Zu-Astarti respectively, though in reverse order chronologically.¹⁰ These two both designate a female family member as “father and mother” or “male and female” of the house, but several of the new texts reveal the same phenomenon without attestation from a royal representative: nos. 28; 41; 45; 50; 71.

To what is already a recurrent phenomenon in the official texts are now added further documents stipulating that an heir “must honour my gods and my dead” (*DINGIR.MEŠ-ia BA.UG₆-ia li-ip-la-ab*).¹¹ Already the

⁶ AOS 1: 20; 36; 72; 76; 84.

⁷ Emar VI/3 205; 211; 212; 252; and possibly 264 (whether this Mutri-Tešub is the “overseer of the country” is uncertain).

⁸ Emar VI/3148 & 149.

⁹ AOS 1: 16; 17; 87.

¹⁰ J. Huehnergard, “Five Tablets from the vicinity of Emar”, *RA*, 77(1983), pp. 11-43. These texts are now part of the *Hinayama* Collection: 1 = HCCT 25; 2 = HCCT 26; 3 = HCCT 24; 4 = HCCT 27; 5 = HCCT 35.

¹¹ See the discussion by Durand in *NABU*, 1989/112, pp. 85-88.

Emar texts have attested the family cult of dead ancestors far more thoroughly, the most notable other corpus being that from Nuzi. However, even there only three of the few inheritance tablets mention “gods and spirits” (*eṭemmu*) together.¹² However, as I have argued elsewhere, the household deities are not themselves the title deeds, but part of the household property, albeit a very important part.¹³ Indeed, in the new collection a will stipulates that “the god(s) belong to the main house” (*DINGIR-lī É.GAL*). Title is conferred by the tablet itself, duly attested, not by the household deities. The other interesting feature here is that a woman is quite frequently designated “father and mother” or, much less often, “female and male”. This title of *pater familias* bestows on her the rights and responsibilities of the family cult.¹⁴

THE FINANCIAL SIDE OF MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

While the extended family or clan, “la ménie” as Arnaud calls it, makes for an interesting study in its own right, we will leave aside these peculiarities and concentrate on two issues:

(i) The dowry

This system is, of course, a standard feature of the marriage arrangements in the Ancient Near East. Two basic terms are used in these texts: *terḫatu*, normally represented by the Sumerogram NÍG.MÍ.ÚS.SÁ, and translated by Arnaud as “dot”; and the *kubudda’u* (sometimes spelt defectively), which Arnaud translates as “douaire”. The former term is properly the “bride-price” given to the bride’s parents by the husband, and which she usually holds. The dowry is properly the donation which the bride’s parents give to her and which she brings to the husband’s house. “Bride-price” appears to be the meaning in the Alalah tablets¹⁵, especially in the latter of these two, where its value is 200 šiqu of silver and 30 šiqu of gold.

¹² J. Paradise, “Daughters as ‘Sons’ at Nuzi”, in D.I. Owen & M. A. Morrison (eds.), *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, Winona Lake 1987, p. 211 & n.29.

¹³ M.R. Adamthwaite, “Emar’s Window on the Old Testament: A Preliminary View”, *Buried History*, 29 (1993), pp. 75-93. Regrettably, discontinuities in the text occurred due to a problem at the editorial stage.

¹⁴ AOS 1: 48, 31-37, where the husband had bestowed on the wife the capacity of *pater familias*, but in this text the adopted son receives the right for maintaining her in “the year of distress”.

¹⁵ D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalah Tablets*, London 1953, nos 92 & 93.

However, at Emar it is questionable whether the term is used so precisely. Thus in a text from the official excavation¹⁶ the testator Ba'al-ili gives over her daughter to her father-in-law, but does not keep the *terhatu*. While "dowry" is possible, it is more likely the bride-price which she would otherwise be entitled to keep. In the new corpus, no. 23, a certain Arwu takes the monetary component of the "dowry", then compensates her brothers from it and keeps the remainder. Here it is probably the *terhatu* or bride-price which is in view. However, a little further on, in no. 32, the word much more likely denotes the dowry proper which the daughter may take with her when her mother gives her liberty, and against the former there can be no legal suit. By contrast, the arrangement in no. 41, 27-9 seems fairly straightforward as to the meaning "bride-price" (cf. *Emar* VI/3, 128 above), which the daughter's brother may keep. A final example is in *Emar* VI/3, 202, 22 where the term seems equally clearly to be "dowry", since it is the wife's property.

A curious example occurs in the Hirayama collection: a woman and her child sell themselves into slavery to pay debts.¹⁷ Her "bride-price" (NÍG.MÍ.ÚS-ši), part of her debt, is divided between two individuals. Here it is better to understand it as the dowry.

These examples from different textual corpora serve to illustrate the flexibility of the term, but the equally strange rigidity in Arnaud's universal use of "dot" for this Sumerian combination. To be sure, Arnaud well remarks that his choice is unfortunate, but that a single word is difficult to supply.¹⁸

Nor is this discussion necessarily a minor detail, since when we come to the less frequent companion word, *kubuddû*, the new corpus throws some additional light on this hitherto obscure term from the official texts.¹⁹ Thus no. 22 lists the contents of a quite handsome *kubuddû*, while no. 71 gives a more modest example. Both, however, are declared in each case to be the property of the testator's wife (22, 2 - 3; 71, 16 - 18). These are similar to a description in another of Arnaud's published texts,²⁰ one which incidentally shows a similar group of witnesses as in no. 13 of the new corpus. On first glance this is neither a dowry nor a bride-price, but is some kind of marriage settlement, given to the wife under legal attestation, at the husband's behest and disposal. In a separate discussion, Durand concludes that is a set of movable goods

¹⁶ *Emar* VI/3, 128, 8-9.

¹⁷ HCCT 36, with Tsukimoto's note to lines 17-18.

¹⁸ AOS 1, p. 18.

¹⁹ *Emar* VI/3, 112 & 198. However, it should be noted that the term does occur at Ugarit: 1 *me-at* 50 *hurāša ku-bu-da-ti šarri bēlī-šu* in PRU III, 16.260, 7-8. Nougayrol translates the expression by "honoraires du roi".

²⁰ D. Arnaud, "La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé", *AO*, 5 (1987), no 15, 14, p. 236.

belonging ultimately to the children, which the wife can enjoy as a *usufructus* while she lives.²¹ However, in the light of the new texts Durand would seem to have misread even the earlier example, since the sons “enter” (*li-ru-ub-ma*) into possession only when the mother dies. This verb (*erēbu*) is also used in a most interesting way in connection with the *kubuddû*, since in no. 22 the husband stipulates, after enumerating its contents: *i-na É ur-ši-ša ma-am-ma la-a ir-ru-ub*: “no-one may enter her bedroom”. Meanwhile, the *kubuddû* is hers and hers alone. Only when she dies does it become a normal part of the inheritance. Thus it could be argued that the *kubuddû* is in fact the bride-price, albeit contracted under slightly different conditions (the groom to the bride), while the NÍG.MÍ.ÚS.SÁ is more usually the dowry proper. Such a view would involve a considerable reinterpretation of the relevant texts.

(ii) “Year of distress and war”

While this phrase in the texts is capable of various interpretations, Arnaud has opted for the view that it was an official legal phrase, even if only used by certain scribes, to express financial hardship brought on in particular by external circumstances, whether famine or aggression.²² In these dire straits a mother/widow could either sell goods or persons otherwise restricted legally from sale, or resort to practices either strictly avoided or even frowned on in normal circumstances, like the sale of children.²³ Thus in no. 65 of the new corpus the family sells their home *a-na MU.I.ti dan-na-ti*: “in the year of distress”. Other contracts attest similar circumstances *in extremis*: entry into debt slavery (25; 44); sale into slavery of a family member (52); and adoption for the purposes of maintenance (74). These observations are in line with those ascertained from elsewhere. In fact, of the twenty-seven extant texts (or possibly twenty-eight) where this formula occurs, eight relate to sale of family members into slavery, including entry into debt slavery, six and possibly more are sales of property otherwise inalienable.²⁴ Elsewhere Arnaud has quite justly cited as a parallel Oppenheim’s study of Babylonian tablets, to illustrate the way these transactions could be legitimised by circumstances.²⁵

²¹ *NABU*, 1990/70, pp. 53-54.

²² *AOS* 1, p. 15.

²³ As argued by A.L. Oppenheim, “Siege Documents from Nippur”, *Iraq*, 17(1955), pp. 69-89.

²⁴ A full discussion of these texts will appear in my forthcoming thesis on the Emar corpus.

²⁵ D. Arnaud, “Humbles et superbes à Emar à la fin de l’âge du Bronze Récent”, in A. Caquot et M. Delcor (eds), *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l’honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, AOAT 212, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981, (hereafter cited as “Humbles et superbes”), p. 8 & n. 4, citing the Oppenheim article, *loc. cit.* (n. 23).

The information in the new corpus which serves to entrench this conclusion is the threefold mention of external attack.²⁶ One text mentions specifically the Hurrians; two others mention the *tar-wu*, a term, or a name, hitherto unknown. Two texts mention severe famine and inflated prices for basic grain:²⁷ one, which also cites the *tarwu*-attack, mentions a price of 1 qa of grain for 1 šiqu, the other a price of 2 qa for 1 šiqu, half the former. However, when Arnaud concludes, albeit tentatively, that the latter is chronologically prior to the former for this reason, he is speculating.²⁸ Two texts from the Japanese Hirayama collection attest the same formula, with the value of 3 qa for 1 šiqu:²⁹ does this mean that these texts are chronologically prior in turn to the above two? This seems hardly likely. However, are we to conclude that such circumstances were open season for racketeers to solicit any wild price for basic commodities? San Nicolo has noted that even the 3 qa for a šiqu is a 66-fold increase over normal levels.³⁰ If it be argued that scribes are noting an “official (emergency) price”, the question of course arises, “From whom?”. If from the local king we go beyond the evidence; but if it be a matter of “the market finding its level”, we run the risk of importing modern notions of the market economy into antiquity. The citation in this connection, however, of “royal declarations of ideal prices” by the more illustrious Mesopotamian kings is likely irrelevant:³¹ the prices do appear to reflect an actual situation albeit by a stereotyped formula. Whatever, these citations open up interesting possibilities for further study.

CHRONOLOGICAL ISSUES

In his initial study of some sixty of the official texts Arnaud drew up a provisional family tree of Emarite royalty and an approximate chronological time-line based on prosopographic considerations, and an assumed forty year generation span covering three generations, yielding 120 years, no less,

²⁶ AOS 1: 9; 25; 44.

²⁷ AOS 1: 25; 74.

²⁸ AOS 1, p. 15, n.1.

²⁹ HCCT 37; A. Tsukimoto, “Sieben spätbronzezeitliche Urkunden aus Syrien”, *ASJ*, 10 (1988), text E. Hereafter cited as ASJ 88-plus cipher.

³⁰ M. San Nicolo, *Biblical Research*, 8/7, no. 20, 44-5, as cited in notes to lines 1-2 in ASJ 88-E. The original article was unavailable to me at the time of publication of this article.

³¹ As in J.D. Hawkins, “Royal Statements of Ideal Prices: Assyrian, Babylonian, and Hittite”, in J.V. Canby (ed.), *Ancient Anatolia (Essays in Honor of M.J. Mellink)*, University of Wisconsin 1986, pp. 93-102. Tsukimoto cites this article in his discussion of text E, *loc. cit.* (n. 29).

for the total time span of the Hittite-controlled Emar.³² This gave a *terminus a quo* in the reign of Mursilis II, c. 1310 B.C., and a final destruction at 1187 B.C., the second year of Melišihu of Babylon according to the dated tablet *Emar VI/3*, 26.³³ In the introductory comments to the present corpus he reinforces this theme of three generations by using the Awiru-Arwu-Bulalu clan of texts 20-26 as a kind of benchmark for a relative chronology.³⁴

However, both a prosopographic study over the whole extant Emar corpus, and examination of synchronisms with certain Ugaritic texts indicates that the time span involved was much shorter than Arnaud's 120 years.³⁵ While anything like a full scale presentation of the evidence, considerable as it is, is beyond the scope of this short review, two quick samples will nevertheless illustrate the point:

(1) In text no. 56 the primary witness is Puḫi-šenni, the Hittite "overseer of the country", the predecessor by all accounts of Mutri-Tešub, whose name appears with some frequency over the Emar corpus. Puḫi-šenni also appears in *Emar VI/3*, 181, 19, and as chief royal scribe (DUB.ŠAR.MAḫ) in *Emar VI/3*, 201, 51. In the latter text the patriarch of a dynasty of diviner-priests, Iadi-Ba'la, i.e. of the "first generation", appeals to Ini-Tešub of Karkemish in a matter of royal grant. This monarch belongs to the mid-thirteenth century B.C.³⁶, which in turn anchors Iadi-Ba'la to the same time, albeit near Ini-Tešub's accession, to judge from the content. In summary, the scene here is much later than the turn of the fourteenth to the thirteenth century B.C.

(2) In text no. 30 a case is brought before Hešmi-Tešub, the DUMU.LUGAL or "son of the king", by two members of the second generation. However, the same Hešmi-Tešub appears also in two letters from Ugarit, one to and the other from Ammištamru II of Ugarit,³⁷ who belongs likewise to the mid- to later thirteenth century B.C.³⁸ In short, the

³² D. Arnaud, "Catalogue des textes cunéiformes trouvés au cours des trois premières campagnes à Meskéné qadime ouest", *AAAS*, XXV(1975), 87-93; idem, "Les textes d'Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Récent", *Syria*, 52 (1975), pp. 87-92.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 92 & n. 3.

³⁴ *AOS* 1, p. 14.

³⁵ To be argued fully in the forthcoming thesis, as indicated in n. 24.

³⁶ See J.D. Hawkins, entry "Karkamiš" in *RLA*, pp. 431-3.

³⁷ J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V, nos 27 & 28 (R. S. 20.22 & R. S. 20.184) respectively, cf. D. Arnaud, "Hešmi-Tešub", *RA*, 68 (1974), p. 190.

³⁸ M.S. Drower, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd ed., II, 2, p. 141, puts the accession of this king at c. 1265; Liverani in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, Fasc. 53, Paris 1979, chronological chart on col. 1299-1302 gives an approximate dating of 1260-1230.

period from one generation to the next was of the order of twenty to thirty years, making the total period of the Emar corpus not more than seventy or eighty years, well short of Arnaud's 120 years.

Under this heading it is appropriate to mention the very first text in this new corpus, in which Iaši-Dagan appears as the primary witness. Since Ba'al-kabar is cited in the next line as the son of the former, and since several of the other witnesses appear also in texts of Ba'al-kabar, we can identify this individual as the patriarch of the Emarite royal family, hitherto known only as a patronym. However, the lines in question are broken, hence we are still ignorant of the patronage of Iaši-Dagan, and whether the line bore the title LUGAL. Thus we cannot draw a final conclusion as to whether he was actually king in his own right. The latter can by no means be ruled out, since only infrequently is there a title or even a royal seal with the name of a royal person (Zu-Aštarti is the exception here: all the appearances of his name carry also the title LUGAL).

EXTERNAL ATTACKS

One poorly executed text, no. 9, which Arnaud regards as a copy, makes reference to a Hurrian attack on the citadel (BĀD). This can probably be equated with the attack described in *Emar* VI/3, 42, during the reign of Pilsu-Dagan, whose name also appears in this text as the primary witness, with the title LUGAL-*ri*. However, two other texts cite an attack (or attacks) by *tarwu*-troops.³⁹ Arnaud attempts to derive a meaning for this word by appeal to an Arabic root *ṭrw*: "to come from afar, unexpectedly", and by extension "bandits".⁴⁰ On this view the term could be taken as an epithet for the Hurrians and thus equated with the attack mentioned above. But this etymological approach is stretching things, and in at least one other case, that of the root *mrr*, the appeal to Arabic has been less than satisfying, as Pardee has argued.⁴¹ A better approach would be to treat the term as a proper name, albeit unknown hitherto, but would fit the general picture of tribal movements at this time. If this reasoning is correct there were at least two and possibly several attacks on Emar prior to its final destruction.

³⁹ See n. 26.

⁴⁰ *AOS* 1, p.11.

⁴¹ D. Pardee, "The Semitic Root *mrr* and the Etymology of Ugaritic *mr(r)lbrk*", *UF*, 10 (1978), pp. 249-88, esp. 270-3.

ISSUES OF VOCABULARY

While the above discussion has already involved vocabulary at points, some miscellanea deserve mention:

(i) *kiršitu*

In his edition of the official texts Arnaud treated this as an Emarite word which on the basis of the purchase contracts had to be some sort of building.⁴² Arnaud thus translated it as “cabanon”, a French word for a type of backyard summer-house. Much discussion has already centred on this term, the views ranging from it being a phantom-word,⁴³ to an unimproved building site,⁴⁴ to at least some kind of small scale house.⁴⁵ From *Emar* VI/3, 177, 23-4 and 181, 8 it clearly is something which can be built or repaired, as the verb *našāpu*: “to stack up, build, erect”⁴⁶ is used with reference to it. Equally, in *Emar* VI/3, 76 and 130 *kiršitu* and *bītu* are equivalent to some extent. In view of the already extensive discussion, notably that of Mayer, Arnaud’s translation certainly needs revision.

(ii) *wa-ra-ša a-pal-li-la*.

Here Arnaud has changed his view of the derivation the second word from the root *bll* to derive it from a similar root *pll*: “to sit in judgment” (parallel to Hebrew), thus “an heir who can assert his claim”.⁴⁷ Von Soden, while accepting the root, sees a variety of possibilities as to a meaning, based on parallel etymologies.⁴⁸ However, Arnaud’s contextual approach makes more sense.

(iii) *buḫinnu*.

Here Arnaud explains that his translation of “rampe pavée” is based as much on the archaeology of the site as on any etymological considerations.⁴⁹

⁴² *Emar* VI/3, 14, 1 and *passim*.

⁴³ So C. Wilcke, *NABU*, 1990/35; Durand, tentatively, in *loc. cit.*, (n. 3), p. 173 & n. 34.

⁴⁴ So Tsukimoto in note to *HCCT* 1,1. This is but a variation of the first view which holds that *ir-ši-tu* is a gloss to the Sumerogram KI.

⁴⁵ W. Mayer, “Kiršitum ‘abgeschiedenes Gebäude’: keine Phantomwort.”, *UF*, 21(1989), pp. 269-70. Also, idem, in *UF*, 24(1992), p. 268, commenting on a text from Tell Munbaqa in which the word also occurs.

⁴⁶ Von Soden, *AHW*, entry *našāpu*.

⁴⁷ *AOS* 1, p. 20.

⁴⁸ *NABU*, 1987/46, p. 25.

⁴⁹ *AOS* 1, p. 14.

The word often appears in the texts as a boundary of either a house or a *kiršitu*, though in regard to the latter never in conjunction with a main street or road (SILA.DAGAL.LA). The archaeology of the site as explained by the excavator, Jean-Claude Margueron, reveals a network of main streets, intersected by steep-sloping narrow side streets.⁵⁰ This approach is essentially sound, even if the understanding of this and many other Emarite words may need some refinement.

It is probably worth mentioning that *I-rib-da* in no. 96, 16 is better transliterated as *I-kal-tá*, i.e. the town of Ekalte, the modern Tell Munbaqa. Whether Arnaud is correct to read *ni-ši*. MEŠ in no. 9, 3 instead of the written *ši-ni*. MEŠ is problematic. Arnaud reasons that, since the tablet is so poorly executed (as noted above), such metatheses are more than likely. He is probably right, and accordingly, he translates “les gens d’Ameu”. This mention of Ameu could supply a lack in the attestation for Ama’u in Late Bronze texts which Oller points out in his discussion of the location of this kingdom.⁵¹ That is, however, if we equate the two.

* * *

In summary, Arnaud has provided an important corpus of texts to supplement those from the official excavation, opening the way for a full-scale investigation from various angles. While the frustrating aspect of small collections appearing in scattered journals will doubtless continue, the task remains for scholars to keep track of all such publications and collate them with these more major editions of Dr. Arnaud.

⁵⁰ J.-Cl. Margueron, “Architecture et urbanisme” in D. Beyer, *Meskéné — Emar: dix ans de travaux: 1972-1982*, Paris 1982, pp. 23-39.

⁵¹ Cf. G.H. Oller, *The Autobiography of Idrimi: A New Text Edition with Philological and Historical Commentary*, Unpubl. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1977, pp. 179-84.

JOASH AND ELISHA IN *ANT.* 9.177-185

BY

CHRISTOPHER BEGG

2 Kgs 13:10-25 interweaves its account of the reign of J(eh)oash of Israel with stories concerning the last illness, death and burial of and *post mortem* resuscitation effected by the prophet Elisha. The purpose of this essay is to investigate Josephus' version of this material in *Ant.* 9.177-185.¹ In conducting my comparison between Josephus' presentation and its Biblical source, I shall take into account the following four major witnesses to the text of 2 Kgs 13:10-25: MT, Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)² and the Lucianic or Antiochene (hereafter L)³ MSS of LXX and Targum Jonathan on the Former Prophets (hereafter TJ)⁴. My comparison aims to answer several overarching questions about the Josephan version of the Biblical narrative of Joash and Elisha: Textually, with which of the above witnesses does Josephus align himself in this segment? What sort of rewriting techniques does the historian employ here and what is the effect of their application on his presentation of figures and events vis-à-vis the Biblical one? Finally, how does Josephus' version of the episodes of 2 Kgs 13:10-25 relate to other

¹ For the text and translation of Josephus' writings I use H.St. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren, and L.H. Feldman (eds.), *Josephus* (LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press/London: Heinemann, 1926-1965 [*Ant.* 9.177-185 is found in Vol. VI, pp. 95-99]). In addition, I have consulted the following editions/translations of the Josephan corpus: B. Niese, *Flavii Josephi Opera. Editio maior* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885-1895) and T. Reinach (ed.), *Oeuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe* (Paris: Leroux, 1900-1932 [*Ant.* 9.177-185 is found in Vol. II, pp. 280-281 where the translation and notes are by J. Weill]).

² For B I use the text edited by A.E. Brooke, N. MacLean and H. St.J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*, II:II I and II Kings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930). It should be kept in mind that 2 Kgs 13:10-25 stands within one of the so-called "*kaige* recension" segments of B (i.e. 3 Rgns 22:1-4 Rgns 25:30) marked by its assimilation to a proto-MT text. On the *kaige* recension in Reigns, see J.D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (HSM 1; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 11-18.

³ For the text of L I use N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega II. 1-2 Reyes* (TECC 53; Madrid: CSIC, 1992). On the MSS representative of L in 3-4 Reigns and the relationship of their text to that of the parallel material in *Ant.*, see the introduction to this work, pp. xvii-lxxi.

⁴ I use the text of TJ edited by A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic II* (Leiden: Brill, 1959) and the translation of this by D.J. Harrington and A.J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan on the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible 10; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987).

extra-Biblical traditions concerning those episodes? To facilitate my comparison between them, I divide up the Biblical and Josephan material into four component sections as follows: 1) Joash Introduced (2 Kgs 13:10-13// *Ant.* 9.177-178a); 2) The Arrows Episode (2 Kgs 13:14-19// *Ant.* 9.178-180); 3) The Grave Incident (2 Kgs 13:20-21// *Ant.* 9.182-183); and 4) Joash's Triumph (and Death) (2 Kgs 13:22-25// *Ant.* 9.184-185).

JOASH INTRODUCED

2 Kgs 13:10-13 (MT) comprises the standard Deuteronomistic opening framework notices for an Israelite ruler: accession and length of reign (v. 10), (negative) evaluation (v. 11), "source notice" (v. 12), death, burial and successor (v.13). Of this material, vv. 12-13 recur, largely verbatim, in Kings' account of Amaziah of Judah, in 2 Kgs 14:15-16 (thus MT and B).⁵ In L, by contrast, the content of 13:12-13 appears after 13:25 (MT), in the standard position for such items, i.e. at the conclusion of the account of a given king's reign. In addition, L has no equivalent to MT 14:15 (source notice for Joas), although, oddly, it does reproduce 14:16 (Joas's death/burial and succession of Jeroboam II) in its MT context.⁶

Josephus' parallel to 2 Kgs 13:10-13 is *Ant.* 9.177-178. In common with MT B L* and TJ, he has Joas (Ἰώασοϛ, LXX Ἰωάϛ) accede in the 37th year of Joas of Judah⁷ and reign 16 years. The first of these chronological indications raises problems with respect to what one reads elsewhere in both the Bible and Josephus himself. Specifically, according to 2 Kgs 13:1 Jehoahaz, the father of Joash, began his rule in the 23th year of Joash of Judah and reigned 17 years. This would entail that Joash's reign over Israel would have begun in the 40th or 39th regnal year of his Judean namesake- as was recognized by the copyists of various Greek MSS who introduce one or other of these figures in 13,10 (e.g., the L MS designated 127 by Fernández and Busto = c₂ in Brooke-Maclean reads "40"). Josephus, for his part, while following the Bible in assigning Jehoahaz a 17-year reign dates his accession rather to the Judean Joash's 21st year (*Ant.* 9.173). According to these indications, one would expect him to date Joash's accession in 9.177 to the 38th year of Joash of Judah. In fact, however, as noted above Josephus

⁵ On the problem of this "duplication", see the commentaries on Kings.

⁶ It might be noted that Josephus goes a step further than L in this regard; his treatment of Amaziah (*Ant.* 9.186-204) lacks a parallel to the whole of MT 2 Kgs 14:15-16. On Josephus' handling of the data of 2 Kgs 13:12-13 (MT), see above in the text.

⁷ Josephus inserts a parenthetical notice in 9.177 pointing out that the Israelite king "had the same name as the king of Jerusalem".

(9.177) follows 2 Kgs 13:10 in synchronizing the Israelite's assumption of the throne with the Judean king's 37th year. Thus, in Josephus too there appears to be an internal inconsistency in the chronological indications provided for Jehoahaz and Joash of Israel to which the historian apparently did not advert.⁸

While Josephus does adopt the Biblical chronological data for Joash, he diverges markedly from 13:11's evaluation of that king. In the Kings verse, Joash, in common with every other Israelite ruler, receives a negative evaluation, being charged, in a formulaic Deuteronomistic expression with "not departing from the sins of Jeroboam". Josephus, on the contrary, affirms that Joash was a good (ἀγαθός) man and in no way like his father [Jehoahaz]. The "contradiction" here is all the more glaring given that elsewhere Josephus regularly follows Kings' strictures on the Northern rulers.⁹ How is it to be explained? I suggest that Josephus has "reversed" the Biblical evaluation of Joash in view of what follows where this king appears to be on good terms with the prophet Elisha whom he calls his "father" and who, for his part, shows no hesitation in receiving Joash on his deathbed. In other words, the historian would have found problematic the Biblical sequence in which the prophet seems so accepting of a "godless" king, whereas earlier on he rebuffed an equally wicked Israelite monarch, i.e. Josiah's predecessor Joram (see 2 Kgs 3:11// *Ant.* 9.34, the campaign of the three kings against Moab)¹⁰ and actually instigated a bloody revolt against him (see 2 Kings 9-10// *Ant.* 9.105-139).¹¹ Josephus resolves the "discrepancy" in the Bible's portrayals of Elisha's dealings with two "bad" kings, by making the later of those kings, i.e. Joash a "good man" to whom the prophet can accord a favorable reception without questions being raised.

Kings' (MT B) opening notices for Joash continue in vv. 12-13 with a standard "source reference" (v. 12) and then mention of the monarch's death, burial and succession by Jeroboam. Of these items, Josephus, in

⁸ On Josephus' "monarchial chronology" in comparison with that of the Bible (MT and LXX), see E.R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951), pp. 204-227. It might be noted that generally (and to a greater degree than the Bible, whether MT or LXX), Josephus' chronology for the kings does show itself to be internally consistent, see C.T. Beggs, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (*AJ* 8,212-420) (BETL 108; Louvain: University Press/Peeters, 1993), p. 145, n. 937.

⁹ He does so, e.g., in the case of both of Joash's father Jehoahaz (see *Ant.* 9.173// 2 Kgs 13:2) and his son Jeroboam II (see *Ant.* 9.205// 2 Kgs 14:25).

¹⁰ On this passage, see C.T. Beggs, "Filling in the Blanks: Josephus' Version of the Campaign of the Three Kings, 2 Kings 3" (forthcoming in *HUCA*).

¹¹ On this episode in Josephus, see: C.T. Beggs, "Josephus' Version of Jehu's Putsch (2 Kgs 8,25-10,36)" (forthcoming in *Antonianum*).

accord with his usual practice, leaves the source notice of 13:12 aside entirely.¹² He does reproduce the content of 13:13, but reserves this for the very end of his account of Joash and Elisha. In so doing, Josephus aligns himself with L whose rendering of 13:12-13, as noted above, stands after 13:25. This state of affairs does not, however, necessarily entail the historian's dependance on a (proto-) L text here. It is equally conceivable that Josephus, having before him a text or texts in which the material of 13:12-13 stood in its MT and B position, shifted 13:13 to the end of his account on his own initiative in view of the curious sequence of the MT narration in which Joash, dead and buried in that verse, appears as very much alive in what follows, see further below.

THE ARROWS EPISODE

The story of the joint royal/prophetic symbolic act(s) involving arrows in 2 Kgs 13:14-19¹³ (*// Ant.* 9.178b-181) opens (v. 14a) with mention of Elisha's mortal illness which occasions the king's "coming down" to him. Josephus' version passes over, for the moment (but see below), the Biblical specification on the severity of the prophet's illness; conversely, it introduces the notice that Elisha who takes sick "about this time" (i.e. of Joash's accession) was "now an old man". This inserted indication is quite appropriate given that there has been no mention of Elisha, in either the Bible or Josephus, since his instigation of the coup perpetrated by Jehu, the grandfather of Joash (see 2 Kgs 9:1-4 *// Ant.* 9.106) some 45 years before.¹⁴ Like Kings, Josephus gives no indication as to where Joash's encounter with the sick prophet took place¹⁵; he does, however, replace the source's somewhat indeterminate reference to Joash's "going down to him (Elisha)" with a specification concerning the purpose of the royal initiative: "he came to visit him".

2 Kgs 13:14b α has Joash "weeping before" Elisha. Josephus accentuates the moment's pathos: "he began to lament... and to wail". He likewise supplies a "motivation" for the king's emotional outburst ("finding him

¹² Presumably, he does so because he is basing his own presentation on the authoritative Bible itself, rather than its earlier sources.

¹³ On this passage, see B. Couroyer, "A propos de II Rois XIII, 14-19," *SBFLA* 30 (1980), pp. 177-196 who calls attention to these acts' Egyptian analogues.

¹⁴ This figure results from combining the indications for the reigns of Jehu (28 years, 2 Kgs 10:36; *Ant.* 9.160 reads 27) and Jehoahaz (17 years, 2 Kgs 13:1 = *Ant.* 9.173).

¹⁵ For speculations concerning the identity of the site, see J. Gray, *I & II Kings* (2d rev. ed.; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), p. 598.

near his end”) which itself draws on 13:14aα’s reference to Elisha’s having “fallen sick with the illness of which he was to die”.¹⁶ In 2 Kgs 13:14bβ the grieving king addresses Elisha with the title “my father, my father! The chariot(s) of Israel and its horsemen”¹⁷. Josephus somewhat modifies, likewise recasting the king’s words as indirect address¹⁸: “(he began to call him) ‘Father’ and ‘armour’”. In substituting the term “armour” (ὄπλον) for Kings’ “chariot(s) and horses”, the historian “sets up” his subsequent amplification of Joash’s address, see below.

In 2 Kgs 13:15 Elisha responds, rather abruptly, to Joash’s tearful address by directing him to take bow and arrows. Josephus, by contrast, interjects a lengthy additional word by the king designed to elucidate his previous designation of the prophet with the military term “armour”. This insertion reads:

“Because of him, he said, they had never had to use arms (ὄπλασις, see ὄπλον in Joash’s opening words to Elisha) against the foe, but through his prophecies they had overcome the enemy without a battle.”¹⁹ But now he was

¹⁶ Rabbinic tradition infers from the wording of the above expression that three distinct illnesses befell Elisha, the last being the one of which he died. The prophet suffered the first two of these illnesses in punishment for his “overreacting” to various situations narrated in the Bible, i.e. his summoning the bears to mangle the disrespectful boys (see 2 Kgs 2:23-25) and his responding to his vision of the greedy, lying initiative of his servant Gehazi by afflicting him with leprosy and summarily dismissing him from his service (see 2 Kgs 5:27), respectively (note that Josephus has no parallel to either of these Biblical episodes). In this connection the Rabbis further affirm that Elisha was the first human to ever recover from an illness; prior to his time all illnesses eventuated in death. See *Soṭah* 47a; *Sanh.* 107b; *B. Meš.* 87a.

¹⁷ In 2 Kgs 2:12 these same words are addressed by Elisha himself to Elijah as the latter ascends into heaven. Josephus who gives (*Ant.* 9.27-28) only a very compressed version of 2 Kgs 2:1-18 as a whole, leaves aside this address as well. On the historian’s treatment of Elijah’s “ascension,” see: J.D. Tabor, “‘Returning to the Divinity’: Josephus’s Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah, and Moses,” *JBL* 108 (1989), pp. 225-238; C.T. Begg, “‘Josephus’ Portrayal of the Disappearances of Enoch, Elijah and Moses’: Some Observations,” *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 691-693.

¹⁸ Throughout the Biblical section of *Ant.* Josephus makes this same substitution with considerable frequency. His doing so allows him, *inter alia*, a greater freedom in “quoting” a character’s words. On the subject, see C.T. Begg, *Josephus’ Account*, pp. 12-13, n. 38 and the literature cited there.

¹⁹ Joash’s generalizing assertion here about Israel’s triumphing over Syria without recourse to arms in virtue of Elisha’s “prophecies” certainly appears something of an exaggeration, given his previous mention of the Syrian devastation of Israel under the king’s grandfather Jehu (*Ant.* 9.159// 2 Kgs 10:32-33) and father Jehoahaz (*Ant.* 9.174// 2 Kgs 13:3,7). Note too that neither the Bible nor Josephus himself record any initiative on the part of Elisha in the face of the dire Syrian threat at the time of these two kings (in fact, Josephus, in a non-biblical insertion, states that “these misfortunes [i.e. those perpetrated by the Syrians in Jehoahaz’ day] the Israelite people suffered in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha, who had foretold [see 2 Kgs 8:10-13// *Ant.* 9.90-91] that Azaēlos would kill his master and become king of Syria and Damascus”). On the other hand, Joash’s statement does find some

departing this life²⁰ and leaving him unarmed (ἐξωπλισμένον)²¹ before the Syrians and the enemies under them.²² It was, therefore, no longer safe for him to live, but he would do best to join him in death and depart this life together with him.”²³

Following the above amplification of Joash’s address, Josephus introduces as well a transitional formulation leading into his version of the prophet’s directive (13:15): “as the king was bemoaning in these words,²⁴ Elisha comforted him...”²⁵

In what precedes Josephus has dramatically embellished the end of 2 Kgs 13:14 and the beginning of 13:15. At this point, however, the historian has recourse to a drastic compression of the source account. Specifically, he condenses into a single sequence (9.180b-181) the double symbolic act involving a use of arrows and attached interpretation related in 2 Kgs 13:15-19. Why does Josephus proceed in this way here? I suggest that he does so primarily in view of the seeming discrepancy between the interpretative announcements attached to the first and second “arrow signs”,

partial basis in the episode of Elisha’s delivering a whole force of hapless Syrians (whom God had previously blinded when asked by the prophet) into the hand of Joram of Judah, see 2 Kgs 6:18-23// *Ant.* 9.56-58.

²⁰ This phrase picks up on the notice of 9.178 about Joash’s “finding him (Elisha) near the end”, compare 2 Kgs 13:14az.

²¹ This accusative singular participle used by Joash in reference to himself represents a further play on the “armour” terminology employed by Josephus twice previously in 9.179. It is the reading found in the codices RO and adopted by Niese, Weill and Marcus. The codices (M)SP, by contrast, read the dative plural participle ἐξωπλισμένοις with the “Syrians” as referent (in this reading Joash would assert that Elisha is “leaving him to the *fully armed* Syrians” rather than “leaving him unarmed before the Syrians” as above in the text).

²² The intended referent of this last phrase is not immediately clear. Perhaps, Josephus has in view with it the mention of the 32 allied kings who Ben-hadad of Syria brought against Samaria in the time of Ahab according to 1 Kgs 20:1 (// *Ant.* 8.363).

²³ Note Josephus’ re-utilization of the datum of the mortalness of Elisha’s illness here (see n. 21). As Marcus, *Josephus*, VI, p. 97, n. b points out, also TJ amplifies Joash’s address to Elisha in 13:14bβ. TJ’s rendering of that verse-part reads: “My master, my master [Aramaic “rabbi”, the Targumist’s substitution for MT’s “father”], to whom there was more good for Israel in his prayer than chariots and horsemen”. Note, however, that TJ’s expansion here is considerably shorter than the Josephan one. It might further be pointed out that whereas TJ identifies Elisha’s military help for Israel with his (intercessory) “prayer”, Josephus equates it rather with his “prophecies” (with this term the historian apparently has in mind the advance warnings which Elisha, in virtue of his clairvoyance was able to provide concerning the movements of the Syrian army, see 2 Kgs 6:8-10// *Ant.* 9.51).

²⁴ With this phrase Josephus alludes back to his mention of Joash’s “beginning to lament and to wail” in 9.179 (// 2 Kgs 13:14bz).

²⁵ This (interpolated) reference to the prophet’s “comforting” the king underscores their emotional closeness. Such closeness is only possible in view of the fact that the latter has become, in Josephus’ version, a “good man” (9.177) rather than the perpetrator of Jero-boam’s sin as in 2 Kgs 13:11, see above in the text.

respectively. In 13:17b, following Joash's shooting of the arrow, Elisha states that he (Joash) fight with the Syrians "until you have made an end of them". Conversely, in 13:19b once the king has ceased striking the ground with the arrows after having done so only three times, this earlier promise of total destruction is abrogated and Joash is informed that instead he will defeat Syria a mere three times.²⁶ Josephus resolves the difficulty essentially by working together into one account Kings' first arrow sign (13:15-17a) with the interpretation of the second sign (13:19b). In so doing, he leaves aside both the interpretation appended to the first sign in 13:17b and the description of the second sign (striking the ground the arrows) in 13:18. I now turn to a more detailed consideration of this compressed Josephan version of 13:15-19.

The account of the first "arrow sign" in 13:15-17a consists of a four-fold series of (paratactically-linked) directives by Elisha and notices of their execution by Joash. These concern the king's taking a bow and arrows, drawing the bow (+ Elisha's placing his hands over those of Joash), opening the window towards the east and "shooting" (this last item, found in MT v. 17aβ, is absent in B). Josephus' version compresses the sequence, while also replacing its parataxis with a better Greek hypotaxis and substituting direct for indirect discourse: "... Elisha told him to have a bow (13:15a + and arrows) brought to him and to bend it; when the king had made the bow ready, (the prophet) took hold of his hands and bade him shoot (τοξεύειν, L τóξευσον)".²⁷ In formulating his equivalent to the notice of 13:17aβ (MT L) that Joash "shot" as directed, Josephus already begins drawing on elements of the second sign account of 13:18-19. Specifically, whereas 13:17aβ seems to suggest that Joash "shot" only one arrow, he words the item, in clear dependance on 13:18a (Joash "struck [the ground with the arrows, see v. 18b] *three times and stopped*") as follows: "he then let fly *three arrows and ceased*".

As noted above, Josephus attaches to his version of the first arrow sign of 13:15-17a, not the associated prophetic announcement of 13:17b, but rather the announcement (13:19) appended to the Bible's second arrow sign (13:18) but not reproduced by him. Hence, after the above notice that

²⁶ For more on the divergence between the two sign acts and their interpretations as related in 13:(14)15-17 and 18-19 respectively, see H.-C. Schmitt, *Elisa. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur vorklassischen nordisraelitischen Prophetie* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1972), p. 81 who concludes that the two segments derive from different hands.

²⁷ In his above rendering of 13:15-17a, Josephus leaves aside that sequence's third item, i.e. Elisha's command about opening the window and Joash's complicity therewith (v. 17az), likely as something too self-evident to need mention.

Joash ceased his shooting after three arrows, Josephus continues immediately with his expanded (see underlined items) version of 13:19²⁸: “if you had sent more (arrows)²⁹, you would have destroyed the kingdom of Syria to its foundations [13:19 you would have struck down Syria until you had made an end of it], *but since you were satisfied with only three*,³⁰ you shall meet the Syrians in as many battles and defeat them [13:19 you shall strike down Syria three times], *that you may recover the territory which they cut off from your father’s possessions*³¹”.

In Kings the episode of 13:14-19 concludes with no indication concerning Joash’s response to Elisha’s (second) announcement in v. 19. As a result, it remains unclear whether or not the king is supposed to be present for what follows next (see 13:20-21), i.e. Elisha’s death, burial and the incident involving his grave (and if so, why he does not intervene in the face of the Moabite advance related in 13:20b). Josephus remedies this lacuna with the notice he appends to his reproduction of Elisha’s announcement about the limited success Joash will have against the Syrians at the end of 9.181: “and the king, having heard these words, departed”.

THE GRAVE INCIDENT

The third of the component units we have distinguished in 13:10-25, i.e. the grave incident of 13:20-21 (*// Ant.* 9.182-183) begins in v. 20a with the laconic notice that Elisha died and was buried.

Josephus (9.182) greatly expands, clearly with a view to accentuating the status of the prophet:

²⁸ From 13:19 Josephus eliminates its opening words: “the man of God (TJ the prophet of the Lord) was angry with him (Joash)”. In so doing, he avoids having the deathbed exchange between king and prophet end up on a note of estrangement.

²⁹ Note Josephus’ retention of the source’s direct address here. Note further that, given the fact that he relates only the first of the Biblical arrow signs (shooting), Josephus turns 13:19’s reference to the “five or six times” which Joash should have “struck” (i.e. the ground with the arrows, see 13:18) into a mention of the king’s (not) “sending more (arrows)”.

³⁰ The above phrase has no equivalent in 13:19; it does, however, pick up on Josephus’ earlier specification about Joash’s releasing *three* arrows.

³¹ Also this concluding element of Elisha’s announcement has no parallel in 13:19 itself. Josephus might, however, have found inspiration for it in the Biblical context, i.e. in the fulfillment notice to the prophet’s announcement in 13:25 (*// Ant.* 9.185) which states that Joash recovered cities lost by Jehoahaz to the Syrians (on this, see 2 Kgs 13:3; compare Josephus’ parallel in *Ant.* 9.174 which speaks specifically, as Kings does not, of the Syrian king taking “great cities” from Jehoahaz). In other words, by his addition to Elisha’s word of 13:19 here in 9.181, Josephus accentuates the correspondence between announcement and its “fulfillment” (see 9.185).

"But not long afterward³² the prophet [13:20a Elisha] died; *he was a man renowned for righteousness* (ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαβόητος)³³ and one manifestly held in honour by God (φανερώς σπουδασθεὶς ὑπο τοῦ θεοῦ)³⁴; *for through his prophetic (power)* (διὰ τῆς προφητείας)³⁵ *he performed astounding and marvellous* (θαυμαστά... καὶ παράδοξα)³⁶ *deeds, which were held as a glorious memory* (μνήμης λαμπρᾶς)³⁷ *by the Hebrews*³⁸. He was then given a *magnificent* (μεγαλοπρεποῦς)³⁹ *burial, such as was fitting for one so dear to God* (θεοφιλῆ)⁴⁰ *to receive*".

Following 13:20a's summary notice on Elisha's death and burial, v. 20b makes the transition to the miracle story of v. 21 with its mention of "Moabite bands" who "invaded the land in the spring of the year (MT *b' šnh*, LXX ἐλθόντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ)". This reference to a penetration of Israelite territory by the Moabites (last mentioned in 2 Kings 3 where their territory is ravaged by a three-nation coalition) appears rather unexpected here.⁴¹ Perhaps for this reason, Josephus substitutes "some robbers", leaving their nationality unspecified. He likewise replaces the chronological

³² The Bible gives no indication as to how long an interval elapsed between the exchange between king and prophet related in 13:14-19 and the latter's death as cited in 13:20a.

³³ This expression occurs only here in the writings of Josephus.

³⁴ This is Josephus' sole use of the above expression "held in honour by God". The phrase is, however, reminiscent of his earlier (also non-Biblical) notice in 9.60 that Adados (Ben-Hadad) of Syria was "amazed... at the prophet (i.e. Elisha) with whom God was so evidently present".

³⁵ Compare the (non-Biblical) words Josephus attributes to Joash in his speech to Elisha (9.179): "... through his prophecies (ταῖς ἐκείνου προφητείαις) they had overcome the enemy without a battle".

³⁶ This collocation occurs only here in Josephus.

³⁷ This phrase is *hapax* in Josephus. Compare, however, his statement concerning Elisha in *Ant.* 9.46: "he (Joram) had with him the prophet Elisha whose acts I wish to relate- for they are glorious (λαμπράι) and worthy of record- as we discover them in the sacred books".

³⁸ On Josephus' (oscillating) designations for the Chosen People at various points in their history, see A. Arazy, *The Appellations of the Jews (Ioudaios, Hebraios, Israel) in the Literature from Alexander to Justinian* (Diss. New York University, 1973), pp. 170-181.

³⁹ Josephus uses the term *μεγαλοπρεπής* in reference to the "burials" of three other Biblical figures: Abner (7.42); Jehoshaphat (9.44, same construction as in 9.182) and Josiah (10.77). More generally, Josephus evidences a clear tendency to accentuate the pomp surrounding the burials of Biblical heroes, on the point see further C.T. Begg, *Josephus' Account*, p. 57, n. 319.

⁴⁰ Josephus uses the term *θεοφιλής* a total of 11x, see K.H. Rengstorff (ed.), *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus II* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) s.v. Other figures to whom he applies the term are as follows: the Hebrews (*BJ* 5.381), the Patriarchs (*Ant.* 1.106), Isaac (1.346), David (6.280), Solomon (8.49), Daniel's relatives (10.215), Daniel himself (10.264), Onias (14.22), and Herod (in popular opinion, *BJ* 1.331// *Ant.* 14.455).

⁴¹ See the remark of J.A. Montgomery and H.S. Gehman, *The Book of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1951), p. 435: "Mention of the Moabites as annual invaders of Elisha's home-country... appears to be an absurdity."

indication of 13:20b with the notation that the “robbers” surfaced “just at that time”, i.e. of Elisha’s burial.⁴²

2 Kgs 13:21a recounts the effect produced by the appearance of the Moabite raiders: seeing them, an unidentified group that is in the process of a burying a (B the) “man” (likewise not further identified), casts that man into the grave of Elisha (L + “and they [the burying party] fled”). Josephus, continuing to go his own way with respect to the Biblical account, makes no mention of the burial party of v. 21a. In his presentation it is rather the “robbers” themselves who “throw” (ῥιψάντων, LXX ἔρριψαν)⁴³ into the prophet’s grave someone whom they have “murdered”.⁴⁴ 2 Kgs: 21b relates the miraculous outcome of the “toss” cited in v. 21a (MT): “the man (> B; L + being buried) went and touched (TJ drew near *qryb*⁴⁵) the bones of Elisha and he revived and stood upon his feet”. In contrast to what precedes, Josephus’ version varies only slightly here: “when the corpse [13:21b the man] came into contact with his body (σώματι),⁴⁶ it was restored to life.” He then rounds off his whole presentation concerning Elisha⁴⁷ with an added notice which, like his embellishments of Elisha’s

⁴² Here again (see n. 32) Josephus modifies the indefinite chronology of the source so as to make the events of 13:14-21 follow one another in quick succession.

⁴³ As Marcus, *Josephus*, VI, pp. 98-99, n. a points out, the subject of the verb “(they) cast” in 13:21a is not altogether clear: it might be either the burial party mentioned at the beginning of the verse or rather “the band”, i.e. the Moabites of v. 20b, cited just prior to that verb. Conceivably, then, Josephus read the verse in line with the latter possibility.

⁴⁴ Josephus’ introduction of this notation, unparalleled in the Bible, does serve to explain the presence of a dead person at this juncture. Note that his mention of the dead’s having been “murdered by robbers” has its counterpart in the *Carmen adversus Marcionem* 3.173 of Pseudo-Tertullian which, in the context of a encomium on Elisha, refers to the one tossed into the prophet’s tomb as *mactatus caede latronum*, see R. Willems (ed.), *Tertulliani Opera* II (CC II:II; Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), p. 1438.

Neither the Bible nor Josephus attach a name to the dead man of 13:21. In Rabbinic tradition, he is variously identified, i.e. as the false prophet Zedekiah of 1 Kings 22 (thus *Midrash Rabbah Ecclesiastes* 8.10.1); the son of the Shunammite woman previously revived by Elisha (see 2 Kgs 4:34-35) but who turned wicked in later life (thus *Midrash Psalms ad Ps* 26:9) and Shallum the husband of the prophetess Huldah according to 2 Kgs 22:14 (thus *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* 33).

⁴⁵ D.J. Harrington and A.J. Saldarini, *op.cit.*, (n. 4), p. 290, n. 28 see TJ’s reading here as reflecting the Talmudic prohibition of burying the wicked and the righteous together, see further n. 50.

⁴⁶ In 13:21b it is “the bones” of Elisha which the dead man “touches”, this implying that the prophet had already been in the grave a considerable time. Josephus’ substitution of a reference to Elisha’s “body” goes together with his previous notation that the incident at the grave occurred “just at that time”, i.e. of Elisha’s burial.

⁴⁷ Such summary notices, rounding off a segment of lesser or greater length, are frequently introduced by Josephus in his reworking of the Biblical account; they serve to more clearly delimit the component parts of his presentation than is the case in the Bible with its often abrupt juxtaposition of the end of one account and the start of a new, distinct one. See e.g., 9.17 (*fine*) where Josephus (provisionally) concludes his treatment of Jehoshaphat

burial (see above), serves to accentuate the status of the prophet: “This much, then, concerning Elisha, both as to what he foretold (προεῖπε)⁴⁸ in his lifetime and how after death he still held divine power (δύναμιν εἶχε θείαν)⁴⁹, we have now related”.⁵⁰ In concluding my discussion of Josephus’

with the formula “Such, then, was the state of affairs under Josaphat...”. See also the end of 9.129 where Josephus terminates his lengthy account of Jehu’s coup (9.105-129) with the notation “such, then, was the state of affairs under Jehu”.

⁴⁸ This term echoes Josephus’ (inserted) notice in 9.175 that the disasters Israel experienced at the hands of the Syrians in the reign of Jehoahaz occurred “in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha who foretold (προεῖπε)...”.

⁴⁹ With this expression compare 8.408 (no Biblical parallel) where Zedekiah the false prophet proposes a test as to whether his rival Micaiah “has the power of the divine spirit” (τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν). Note too the echo in the above reference to Elisha’s possession of “divine power” of 9.58 where the prophet affirms that the Syrian captives have come to Samaria “by the power of God” (θεία... δύναμις).

⁵⁰ Like Josephus, Rabbinic tradition too elaborates on the summary data of Elisha’s *post mortem* resuscitation as related in 13:20-21. As already noted, the Rabbis, e.g., propose varying identifications for the dead man who is revived by contact with the prophet’s bones (see n.44). They likewise see this miracle as exemplifying the exalted status of Elisha. Thus e.g., according to *Seder Elijah Rabbah* 5 (22) as Elisha’s second resuscitation (the first being that of the Shunammite woman’s son, see 2 Kgs 4:34-35), it shows him to be still greater than Elijah who is credited with only one miracle of this sort (i.e. his raising of the Phoenician woman’s son, see 1 Kgs 17:22). Similarly, *Hullin* 7b cites the affirmation of a R. Hanina b. Hana that the miracle of 13:21 shows that the righteous are even more powerful in death than in life. It does so in that whereas in the case of his first resuscitation performed while still alive Elisha had to exert himself with a variety of bodily operations on the boy’s corpse, mere contact with his remains brought about the second.

The conclusion of 13:21 which speaks of the revived man’s “standing upon his feet” likewise attracted the Rabbis’ attention. Various authorities take the fact that Scripture has nothing to say about, e.g., the man’s subsequent return home as indicating that he died anew shortly afterwards. From that supposition the Rabbis, in turn, draw a variety of inferences, i.e. the man in question was a sinner and the purpose of his momentary revival was simply to make clear and ensure the realization of the principle that wicked and righteous are not to be buried together (thus *Midrash Rabbah Ecclesiastes* 8.10.1; *Sanh.* 47a) See also *Midrash Psalms* 26.220 which affirms that the separation between them effected by the man’s temporary revival came in answer to Elisha’s praying the words of Ps 26:9 (“gather not my soul with sinners”) which the *Midrash* attributes to him. This Rabbinic understanding of the resuscitation of 13:21 as a merely momentary one (note, however, that *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 33 envisages a longer period of post-revival life for the man (whom it identifies with Shallum the husband of the prophetess Huldah, see n. 44) in that it speaks (with reference to Jer 32:7) of this Shallum begetting a son Chanameel after his resuscitation) gave rise to a further problem, i.e. if this event cannot be regarded as a true resuscitation on par with that of 2 Kgs. 4:34-35 (or 1 Kgs 17:22), then can one speak of a realization of Elisha’s request for a “double portion” of Elijah’s spirit (2 Kgs 2:9) which would have enabled him to perform twice as many raisings of the dead as his master? In response to this difficulty, e.g., *Sanh.* 47a; *Hullin* 7b identify Elisha’s curing of Naaman’s leprosy as the prophet’s second (real) resuscitation, given that leprosy is a kind of living “death” as shown by Num 12:12 where Aaron appeals to Moses on behalf of the leprous Miriam “let her not be as one dead”.

Finally, mention might be made here also to the distinctive reference to Elijah’s *post mortem* capacities in Sir 48:13: “when he dead his body prophesied (Heb. *nb*, LXX ἐπεροφήτευσεν)”.

version of the “grave incident,” I would call attention to one noteworthy overall point concerning it, i.e. Josephus evidences no apparent embarrassment in reproducing the story of a miracle performed even after the death of the wonder-worker. What makes his procedure here of particular interest is the fact that elsewhere Josephus does seem to downplay or eliminate Biblical miracles out of deference to the sceptical sensitivities of his cultivated Gentile readers.⁵¹ The case of Elisha’s *post mortem* resuscitation makes clear, however, that one can not speak of a clear and consistent *Tendenz* in Josephus’ handling of the miracles related by the Bible.⁵²

JOASH’S TRIUMPH (AND DEATH)

The concluding segment of 2 Kgs 13:10-25, i.e. vv. 22-25, opens in MT (and B) with a sequence (vv. 22-23) dealing with Israel’s oppression by the Syrians and the Lord’s delivery of them during the reign of Joash’s father Jehoahaz. Already the placement of these two verses appears peculiar—Jehoahaz has been duly disposed of in 13:9. In addition, however, there is the fact that in their content 13:22-23 seem to duplicate what has already been said about Israel’s affliction and the Lord’s intervention in Jehoahaz’s day in 13:3-7. In L, the anomaly of 13:22-23 finds a (partial) resolution: here, whereas 13:22 with its mention of Jehoahaz does stand in its MT (and B) position,⁵³ 13:23 appears after 13:7.⁵⁴ Josephus, for his part, is clearly closer to the presentation of L in this instance, even while going still further in its line. Specifically, he passes over the material of both 13:22 and 13:23, reading his parallel to 13:24 (9.184) immediately after his version of 13:20-21 (9.182-183).⁵⁵ In my view, one has here a case similar

⁵¹ On the point, see L.H. Feldman, “Use, Authority and Exegesis in the Writings of Josephus,” in Jan Mulder and Harry Sysling, eds., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, sect. 2, vol. 1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), pp. 506-507.*

⁵² For more on the problematic of the miraculous in Josephus, see G. MacRae, “Miracle in *The Antiquities of Josephus*,” in C.F.D. Moule, ed., *Miracle: Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History* (London: Mowbray, 1965), pp. 127-147.

⁵³ In L 13:22 ends up with the following lengthy plus: “and Hazael took Philistia from his (Jehoahaz’s) hand, from the sea of the West to the Arabah”. Josephus who has no equivalent to 13:22-23 *tout court* (see above in the text), lacks this special L datum as well.

⁵⁴ On the question of which order of the material is the more original here, see the commentaries.

⁵⁵ According to Marcus, *Josephus*, VI, p. 95, n. d Josephus ends up his account of Israel’s affliction by Syria and the Lord’s deliverance of her in Jehoahaz’ day in 9.174-176 (// 13:3-7) with reminiscences of 13:23 (MT). In so doing he would parallel the sequence of L which

to Josephus' placement of the content of 13:13 (MT). There, as noted above, Josephus positions the content of that verse at the very end of his sequence concerning Joash of Israel. To that extent, the historian's presentation parallels that of L where 13:12-13 (MT) appear after 13:25. I noted, however, that this observation need not entail that Josephus was, in fact, dependent on a text like that of L for his placing of 13:13 (MT). Rather, it is quite conceivable that, finding the verse in its MT (and B) position in his source(s), Josephus, on his own initiative, shifted it to what appeared like a more appropriate point in his narrative. A like explanation cannot, I suggest, be excluded with regard to Josephus' non-reproduction of 13:22-23 within the context of his parallel to 13:10-25. In omitting these verses from his version, the historian was, that is, not necessarily following a source text *à la* L (which in any case does read 13:22 in its MT position). It is, on the contrary, equally possible that Josephus dropped this material notwithstanding its presence in his source text(s) given its anomalous character as discussed above.

Following the (MT) interlude of 13:22-23, Kings continues in 13:24 with mention of the death of Hazael of Syria (Israel's oppressor in Jehoahaz's time according to 13:22) and the succession of his son Ben-Hadad (LXX υἱός Ἀδέρ). As noted, Josephus attaches his parallel to 13:24 directly to his account of the "grave incident". The latter reads: "On the death of Azaēlos, the king of Syria, the kingship came to his son Adados (Ἀδαδον)⁵⁶". 2 Kgs 13:25 notes the sequel to the change of leadership in Syria: Joash thrice defeats Ben-Hadad and recovers "cities" lost by his father Jehohahaz to Hazael, this "recovery" being cited twice, once in v. 25a, and again in v. 25b. L amplifies this MT and B content of the verse with a variety of elements, i.e. an opening transitional phrase ("and it came to pass after the death of Azaēl"); specification that Joash's triple smiting of the "son of Ader" transpired "in the war in Aphek according to the word of the

places MT 13:23 after 13:7, as noted above. It is not clear to me, however, that 9.174-176 does, in fact, evidence any dependance on the wording of 13:23. That sequence might, rather, be viewed simply as Josephus' (adapted) version of 13:3-7. If so, the historian would simply pass over 13:23 (and 13:22) completely.

⁵⁶ This is the emendation proposed by the early Josephus editor J. Hudson and followed by Marcus as well as by A. Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), s.v. Ἀδαδός. Niese and Weill read Ἀδδών with the codices RO (and Lat). The other codices evidence a variety of other readings, see Marcus, *Josephus*, VI, p. 98, n.a. The form of the king's name as read by Marcus *et al.* represents a shortened form of the MT (Ben-Hadad) and LXX (υἱός Ἀδέρ) names, lacking an equivalent to their "son of" element. Note that in the case of the earlier Syrian king named Ben-hadad, the enemy of Ahab and Joram of Israel, Josephus starts off (*Ant.* 8.363// 1 Kgs 20:1) calling him ὁ τοῦ Ἀδαδον υἱός, but thereafter consistently uses "Adados" for him.

Lord”⁵⁷; and the addition “and as many as he [i.e. Hazael] took” to v.25b’s mention of Joash’s recovering “the cities of Israel”. Josephus too presents a more expansive version of the content of MT 13:25. His rendition starts off with the introductory notice that Joash “began war” against Adados which has no counterpart as such in the source. It continues with the datum of v.25b about the Israelite king’s thrice vanquishing (τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας, compare Elisha’s announcement in 9.181 τοσαύταις [i.e. τρισίν]... μάχαις κρατήσεις) his Syrian counterpart. Thereafter, Josephus compresses into one the Bible’s double mention of the recovery of the Israelite cities. At the same time he words this item, like the foregoing, in accordance with the announcement he attributes to Elisha in 9.181 (“you may recover *the territory* [τὴν χώραν] which they cut off from your father’s possessions”): “(Josah) got back from him (Adados) all *the territory* (τὴν χώραν) *and as many cities* (πόλεις, so LXX) *and villages*⁵⁸ as his father Azaēlos had taken from the Israelite kingdom (13:25a from Jehoahaz)”. To this description of Joash’s triumph, Josephus further appends (9.185a) a “fulfillment notice” which serves to explicitly connect that triumph with Elisha’s prediction as cited in 9.181: “This, moreover, came about in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha”. This notice has a parallel in the above-cited L plus in 13:25b “(Joash thrice smote the Syrians at Aphek) according to the word of the Lord”. Possibly then, the presence of such a notice in Josephus’ presentation is evidence of his dependance on a L-like text at this juncture.⁵⁹ Alternatively, however, it seems equally conceivable that Josephus simply introduced the notice on his own, especially given the fact that in 9.175 he does insert the Biblically unparalleled statement that the Syrian devastation of Israel in the time of Jehoahaz was “in accordance with the prophecy of Elisha” (same phrase as in 9.185). Thus, here again, it remains uncertain whether, in fact, an existing similarity between Josephus and a peculiarity of L is to be explained in terms of the former’s dependance on the latter. The Biblical segment (MT B) 13:10-25 concludes in v.25 with mention of Joash’s successes against the Syrians. As pointed out above, L, on the

⁵⁷ With this plus L provides a fulfillment notice for Elisha’s “arrow word” in 13:17bβ (“you shall fight the Syrians *in Aphek* until you have made an end of them”), likewise introducing a verbal echo of that word with its mention of “Aphek” as the site of Joash’s victories. Recall that Josephus lacks a parallel to the “arrow word” of 13:17b.

⁵⁸ Note that Marcus, *ad loc.* fails to render this element in his translation of 9.184. Compare Weill, *ad loc.*: “(il lui enleva tout le pays) *et toutes les villes et bourgades...*”.

⁵⁹ Josephus’ speaking of the fulfillment, not of “the word of the Lord,” but rather of “the prophecy of Elisha” poses no difficulty for this supposition since the historian consistently avoids Biblical references to the divine “word”, replacing these with alternative phraseology. On this feature, see C.T. Begg, *Josephus’ Account*, p. 20, n. 90 and the literature cited there.

contrary, positions its equivalent of the closing notices for Joash of 13:12-13 (MT) after 13:25. As has also already been noted, Josephus, while lacking any parallel to the “source reference” of 13:12, cites the data of 13:13 in the same position as does L- however that “agreement” be explained (see above). His actual rendition of 13:13 (MT) reads thus: “when the time came for Joas to die⁶⁰, he was buried (κηδεύται, L θάπτεται)⁶¹ in Samaria⁶², and the royal power fell to his son Jeroboam (Ἰεροβόαμον)”. For this sequence with its mention of Jeroboam’s accession *after* the burial of his father, Josephus goes together with L against MT which cites those two happenings in the reverse order. Once again, however, the question arises as to whether this communality necessarily betokens the historian’s dependance on a L-like text. That question suggests itself here given the fact that the MT order is not the expected one nor the one normally found in Kings⁶³. Hence, it is quite possible that Josephus’ order reflects, not his use of a L-text, but rather his own rearrangement of the odd sequence of a MT-like source-text.

CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding section I shall briefly sum up the findings of my study under the two general headings cited at the beginning: Josephus’ textual affinities in 9.177-185 and the rewriting techniques exhibited by this segment of *Ant.*

On the textual question, the most noteworthy point to emerge from this investigation was the series of contacts between Josephus and the peculiar L readings/order in 4 Rgns 13:10-25. Four such contacts were identified: placing of the data of MT 13:(12)13 at the very end of the segment,

⁶⁰ Josephus’ reference to Joash’s “dying” here substitutes for the metaphorical expression of 13:13 “he slept with his fathers” which he regularly avoids also elsewhere (see *Ant.* 8.278 Jeroboam “died”// 1 Kgs 14:20 (MT) Jeroboam “slept with his fathers”). Overall, Josephus (like TJ) evidences a tendency to replace metaphorical Biblical language with prosaic equivalents.

⁶¹ Note that both Josephus and L use the “historic present” form in reference to Joash’s burial. Josephus evidences a marked preference for that form, frequently introducing it in his rewriting of Biblical passages where LXX has a past form. See further C.T. Begg, *Josephus’ Account*, pp. 10-11, n. 32. It might further be noted that B lacks a mention of Joash’s “burial” in its version of 13:13 which reads “and Joash slept with his fathers, and Jeroboam sat with his fathers and in Samaria with the brothers of Israel”.

⁶² This specification concerning the site of Joash’s burial reproduces the indication found in MT and L.

⁶³ In the duplicate of 13:13 in MT 2 Kgs 14:16 one does in fact find the expected sequence burial of Joash- accession of Jeroboam.

absence of 13:23 in its MT position, the inserted “fulfillment notice” in 13:25// *Ant.* 9.185a; mention of Jeroboam’s accession only after Joash’s burial *contra* the MT order in 13:13 (see 9.185b). As indicated above, none of these affinities between L and Josephus, taken for itself, necessitates the conclusion that the historian was actually dependent on a L-like text in our segment. Rather, each might be plausibly explained on the supposition of free editorial initiative by Josephus working with a text *à la* that of MT (and/or B which goes together with MT on all of the above points except the last, see n. 61). Still, their cumulative evidence certainly does lend a certain plausibility to the surmise that, for his account of Joash and Elisha at any rate, Josephus did make use of a Biblical text akin to that found in our L MSS. Conversely, positive indications for his dependance on a MT-like text appear to be lacking in this instance. Finally, under the textual affinities rubric, I recall that Josephus (9.179-180a) has in common with TJ’s version of 2 Kgs 13:14b an expansion of the short, plaintive word addressed by Joash to Elisha in MT and LXX. For the rest, however, Josephus’ elaboration is much longer than that of TJ and evidences no verbal affinities with it. Hence, there is certainly no reason to posit Josephan dependance on a text like that of TJ here.

Ant. 9.177-185 offers several noteworthy instances of Josephus’ rewriting techniques in his handling of the Biblical record. I summarize on these here under the three (admittedly overlapping) categories of modifications, omissions/condensation and expansions.

1) *Modifications.* Josephus modifies the account of 2 Kgs 13:10-25 in both style and content. Stylistically, he, e.g., replaces the source’s parataxis with a hypotaxis more in line with standard Greek usage. On occasion, at least, he substitutes indirect for Biblical direct discourse, see 9.179-180a (Joash’s word to Elisha), compare 13:14b. Among Josephus’ contextual modifications of Kings’ presentation of Joash and Elisha three are especially worthy of note. In place of Joash’s designation of the prophet as Israel’s “chariot(s) and horsemen” (13:14b), he has the king address Elisha with the title “armour” (9.179), perhaps finding this a less far-fetched metaphor for an individual person than the Biblical one. The dead man revived by contact with the prophet’s remains is “murdered” by “some robbers” who themselves toss the corpse into Elisha’s grave (9.183), whereas in 13:20b-21a it is a (presumably) Israelite burial party who so disposes of the body of a “man” (the circumstances of whose death are left unelucidated) upon the approach of Moabite raiders. With this modification Josephus eliminates the unexpected appearance of Moabites at this juncture, just as he accounts

for how the dead one met his end (his invocation of the man's "murder" by the robbers likewise intimates a reason why he ends up being unceremoniously dumped in the grave of Elisha, i.e. his murderers avail themselves of the presence of the prophet's freshly made grave in order to rid themselves of the evidence of their misdeed as soon as possible).⁶⁴ Even more striking is Josephus' transformation (9.177) of the evil-doing king Joash of 13:11 into a "good" man. I suggested above that this modification is designed to account for the subsequent depiction of the good rapport existing between king and prophet which, in the wider Biblical context, appears somewhat problematic. This last case indicates that, on occasion at least, Josephus did not hesitate to directly "contradict" particular Biblical statements when the narrative plausibility of his overall presentation seemed to call for such a procedure.

2) *Omissions/Condensations*: In his rewriting of 2 Kgs 13:10-25 Josephus either completely eliminates or drastically compresses various of its components. Passed over entirely are the "source reference" for Joash (13:12) and the sequence concerning events of the reign of Jehoahaz (13:22-23, MT). The first of these omissions is in accord with the historian's standard practice with regard to the item in question. In the case of the second, there is the possibility that the material was in fact, absent already in Josephus' (L-like) source text (recall, however, that our L MSS do read [an expanded] 13:22 in its MT position). On the alternative supposition that these verses did stand in the text(s) being used by Josephus for our segment, their omission by him is readily explainable given the oddness of their MT position, i.e. in the middle of an account concerning Jehoahaz's son as well as their duplication of 13:3-7.

Ant. 9.177-185 also evidences a noteworthy instance of Josephus' condensation of source material. In 9.180b-181, as we have seen, the historian conflates the double "arrows sign act" of 13:15-19 into a single such act in which the interpretative announcement associated with the *second* Biblical arrows procedure is attached to his account of what in Kings is Joash's *first* operation with the arrows. Thereby, Josephus, first of all, "streamlines" the

⁶⁴ In this connection recall that Josephus introduces another "modification" in his rendering of 13:21 in 9.183, i.e. whereas in the source, the dead man touches the prophet's "bones", he has the corpse come in contact with Elisha's (still extant) "body". This difference, in turn, holds together with Josephus' introduction of a chronological indication ("now it happened just at this time") at the beginning of 9.183 specifying that the "grave incident" followed of 13:20b-21 immediately upon the burial of Elisha (whose "body" would thus be still intact at the time of the incident).

Biblical presentation (why, one wonders, are two “arrows signs” needed—especially since the promise of Syria’s subjugation attached to the first one in v. 17b seems to be both comprehensive and definitive?). In addition, Josephus’ abridgement eliminates the discrepancy between the total overthrow of Syria initially promised by Elisha (v. 17b) and the restricted conquest announced in v. 19b. In this way, the prophet’s self-consistency is upheld; there is no question as to what is his “real” message concerning Syria’s fate at Israel’s hands.⁶⁵

3) *Expansions*. In the previous point we noted Josephus’ omission or abridgement of elements found in 2 Kgs 13:10-25. Here, we recall that in 9.177-185 Josephus also adopts the opposite procedure in his rewriting of the Biblical source, i.e. he introduces a variety of expansions in his presentation of the material. Some of these additions are quite restricted in scope: the mortally ill Elisha is “now an old man” (9.178); after his interview with the prophet, Joash “departs” (9.181). Two of them, however, are much more extensive. First, Josephus’ Joash greatly elaborates on the import of the cryptically laconic address attributed to his Biblical counterpart in 2 Kgs 13:14b (“my father, my father! The chariot(s) of Israel and its horsemen”), see 9.179-180a. Via this elaboration Josephus clarifies for readers the meaning of the military title applied to Elisha by the king (“chariot(s) and horsemen of Israel” [13:14b]/ “armour” [9.179]). He likewise underscores the intimate bond which Joash affirms to exist between himself and Elisha with the address “father” he uses for the latter by having the king state that he wishes to join that prophetic “father” of his in death, see 9.180a. The other major Josephan expansion in 9.177-185 consists of the amplifications he introduces around the figure of Elisha in his version of the “grave incident” of 2 Kgs 13:20-21. Of him, Josephus, in an addition

⁶⁵ A somewhat similar case can be observed in Josephus’ handling of the exchange between Ahab and the prophet Micaiah. In the sources the latter initially responds to the king by (ironically) echoing the false prophets’ previous announcement of triumph for Ahab in his projected campaign against Syria (1 Kgs 22:15// 2 Chron 18:14). Thereafter, however, having been adjured to speak the truth by Ahab, Micaiah announces rather that the Israelite army will be scattered and the king himself killed (1 Kgs 22:17// 2 Chron 18:16). In Josephus’ version of the exchange in *Ant.* 8.404 this “discrepancy” between the prophet’s first and second replies to Ahab disappears; Micaiah’s one and only announcement for him is that the expedition against Syria will end in disaster, see further C.T. Begg, *Josephus’ Account*, pp. 250-251. L.H. Feldman, “Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus,” *JTS* ns 41 (1990), pp. 409-410 has called attention to Josephus’ insistence that the messages of the “true” (Biblical) prophets cited by him agree among themselves. His handling of the “contradictory” words attributed by the Bible to the prophets Micaiah and Elisha suggest that Josephus is equally concerned to portray an individual prophet as being self-consistent in his deliverances.

to the “death notice” of 13:20a α , states (9.182a): “he was a man renowned for righteousness and one manifestly held in honour by God; for through his prophetic power he performed astounding and marvellous deeds”. Elisha is not simply “buried” (thus 13:20a β); rather, “he was given a magnificent burial, such as it was fitting for one so dear to God to receive” (9.182b). Finally, the grave incident itself (and Josephus’ whole presentation of Elisha) is rounded off with the summarizing notice “This much, then, concerning Elisha, both as to what he foretold in his lifetime and how after death he still had divine power, we have now related”. The intent behind this second set of additions is clear; they all aim to magnify the prophet’s stature in the eyes of readers.⁶⁶

A final point. How, overall, does the Josephan version of the Joash and Elisha narrative compare with/differ from its Biblical prototype? I suggest that the net result of Josephus’ modifications, omissions/condensations and expansions of his source is to produce an account whose distinctiveness consists in two main features. First, Josephus eliminates the problem of the cordial relationship between Elisha and a “bad” king posed by the Bible. Doing this, he can also accentuate the closeness of that relationship with various small details, e.g., Joash’s wishing to die along with his “father” (9.180); Elisha’s “comforting” of the grieving king (9.180), cf. too his omission of 13:19a’s reference to Elisha’s being “angry” with Joash. Second, the Josephan Elisha emerges as a still more noteworthy and memorable figure than his Biblical counterpart. This last feature, in turn, would seem to reflect Josephus’ constant concern, throughout the “Biblical portion” of *Ant.* to refute contemporary Gentile claims that his people lacked figures of comparable distinction to the Greek and Roman heroes.⁶⁷ The Elisha of 9.177-185 certainly qualifies as such a figure.

⁶⁶ As has been noted, Rabbinic tradition also amplifies the Biblical record concerning Elisha’s last illness, death, burial, and the miracle effected by his remains. It does so, however, with respect to matters (Elisha’s earlier, non-fatal illnesses, the identity of the revived man and the duration of his resuscitation, Elisha’s superiority to Elijah as the raiser of two dead persons in virtue of his reception of a double portion of the latter’s spirit) which lack a counterpart in the Josephan amplifications of Elisha’s stature.

⁶⁷ On the above charge and Josephus’ concern to respond to it, see, e.g., L.H. Feldman, “Josephus’ Portrait of Moses,” *JQR* 82 (1992), pp. 290-291.

AN ARABIC HIJAB MANUSCRIPT AND JEWISH AND SAMARITAN PHYLACTERIES

BY

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I acquired the small manuscript shown in the accompanying photograph, in London in 1971. It consists of a small roll of oriental paper 8 cm in width, which is made up of three separate, closely written lengths. The first of these measures 51 × 8 cm, and contains 36 cm of text in 31 lines. The second page is 51 × 8 cm and has 36 cm of text in 38 lines. The third page measures 45½ cm. × 8 cm and has 40 cm of text in 37 lines. The whole text comprises 106 lines, written in Arabic, unvocalised in Jari hand. On the back of the final page (which forms the outside of the roll) is a small identifying note, carefully written in miniscule in Indian ink, which reads: 'Amulet with leather covering removed'.

In Islam, Amulets with the names of God, and/or verses from the Qur'an are lawful; in fact, a tiny copy of the Qu'ran is a common enough Amulet or Hijab, worn as a necklace. The main text of our manuscript consists of citations from the Qur'an, but there is nothing to indicate which suras or verses are cited. On page 1, lines 3½, there is an introductory prayer¹ and blessings on God, Muhammad and his family. This is followed (lines mid-4 to 12) by the complete Sura 2:255 from the Qur'an. In the middle of line 12, and continuing to the end of line 16, there is a citation of the whole of Sura 2:284. Lines 16-21 contain Sura 2:285, followed by Sura 2:286, (lines 21 to 29). At the bottom of page 1, on lines 30, and 31, there are the first two thirds of Sura 3:18, the remainder of the verse appearing in the first lines of page 2.

The first citation from the Qur'an, on page 1 of the manuscript, is that wonderful verse, the renowned *ayatu'kursiy*, the verse of the Throne. 'God there is no god but the living, the self-subsistent. Slumber takes him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the heavens and what is in the earth. Who is it that intercedes with him save by His permission? He knows what is before them, and what behind them, and they comprehend not aught of his

¹ The Hijab begins with: 'In the Name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate: O God, Blessing and Peace, and Blessed and Exalted is our Protector Muhammad and exalted is his family in all genuine; precious and well endowed and wide is your knowledge. Amen.

knowledge, but what He pleases. His throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and it tires him not to guard them both, for he is the high and the grand'.²

The second citation from the Qur'an is from the three verses at the end of the same Sura 2. God's omniscience and Omnipotence are further stressed while the accountability of mankind individually to God is taught, forgiveness for failure is sought, assurance is given that God will not overload the Faithful beyond their capacity and forgives when He will. The victory of Believer over Unbeliever is sought from God.³

The manuscript continues on this first page with Sura 3:18 'God bears witness that there is no God but He, and the angels and those possessed of knowledge standing up for justice. There is no God but He, the mighty, the wise'.⁴ This verse runs uninterrupted from the bottom of the first page of the manuscript to the top of page 2, demonstrating the unbroken continuity between pages 1 and 2. The first word of line 2, page 2, completes Sura 3:18; line 2 continues 'Verily, (the true) religion in God's sight is Islam'⁵ which is the first part of Sura 3:19 and all that is cited of it. The beginning of Sura 3:26 begins on line 3 of page 2 and continues to the middle of line 7. 'God Lord of the Kingdom giving, or taking away, power and honour as He pleases. Verily He is mighty over all'. Sura 3:27 begins in the middle of line 7 on the second page, and ends mid-line 13 'Just as He turns night into day and day into night, so he brings the living from the dead'. From mid-line 13 on page 2, Sura 9:128 begins and runs until line 17; it tells of an apostle (Muhammad) who has come as one of themselves, full of concern and compassion for the believers.

Sura 9:129 completes line 17 of the second page of the manuscript, and supplies most of line 18. If rejected, the apostle can say 'God is enough for me. There is no God but He, Upon Him I do rely, for He is the Lord of the mighty Throne'.⁶

With the last two words of line 18, Sura 10:107 begins and runs to the middle of line 21. 'If God afflict you, none can remove the affliction but He, if He wish you well, there is none to remove His grace. He makes it fall on [whom He will of] His servants. God is the forgiving, the Merciful'.⁷

² E.H. Palmer (trans.) *The Koran*, O.U.P.; London 1933, p. 36.

³ See Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Sura 2: 284-286.

⁴ Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁵ Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁶ Cf. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁷ After Palmer, *op. cit.*, p.183.

In the middle of page 2, line 25, Sura 11:6 (which is cited in full) declares God's sustenance of animals in general⁸. Immediately after this, Sura 11:56 is cited, in which the Qur'an declares the Prophet's reliance upon God. Again reference is made to God's interest in animals, 'not a beast that walks, but He takes it by the forelock'. The verse ends 'Verily my Lord is on a straight path' (line 31). This is immediately followed by Sura 29:60 which continues till the middle of line 33: the subject again is God's provision of food for beasts, which cannot carry their own food [with them]. God provides for such, and for you. He both hears and knows'.

With the second part of Line 33, on page 2, Sura 39: 38 begins and is continued to line 3 of the following page: God is the Creator. The other gods that men worship cannot influence God's will to one's benefit or hurt, so 'Say God is enough for me and on Him rely those who rely'.⁹ This is followed on page 3, in the second part of line 3 by Sura 40:57: 'Surely the creation of the heavens and earth is greater than the creation of man: but most men do not believe'. Actually, the phrase, 'but most men do not believe' forms the second part of Sura 40:59 in the Qur'an'; in the Hijab this has been replaced with 'but most men know it not'.

On page 3 of the manuscript, with the end of line 5, the Hijab text turns to Sura 67, the last portion of verse 3: 'then look again: Can you see any flaw?'¹⁰ The verse in the Qur'an states that God created seven heavens in stories¹¹ and it is stated you can see no fault in the Merciful One's creation.¹² The Hijab text quotes Sura 67:4: 'Then look again and yet again your sight will return to you weakened and made dim'¹³ at the end of line 7, on page 3 of the manuscript. Line 8 follows with Sura 68:52: 'The misbelievers well-nigh upset thee with their looks, when they hear the reminder and they say, 'Surely he is mad! and yet it is but a reminder to the worlds'¹⁴.

⁸ God knows where each animal lives, and where it reposes, 'all is in the perspicuous book'. See Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁹ Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

¹⁰ Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

¹¹ However, M.M. Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, Mentor Books: New York 1953, p. 408 has 'in harmony'.

¹² The Hijab omits the first part of this verse and the creation of the heavens, having already, in the previous Qur'anic citation 40:57, spoken of the creation of the heavens and earth.

¹³ Pickthall, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

¹⁴ Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 497; Pickthall, *op. cit.*, p. 411, has 'a reminder to creation', while A.J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, 2v. Allen and Unwin: London 1955, p. 296, has 'A Reminder unto all beings'.

With line 11 on page 3 of the manuscript, we have Sura 7:118.¹⁵ Sura 7:119 follows on line 12. Line 13 has Sura 7:120 and also Sura 7:121. This section ends on line 14 with Sura 7:122. Here we have the contest between Moses and the wizards at Pharoah's direction. God's truth was vindicated and the discredited sorcerers of Pharoah fell down prostrate crying, 'we believe in the Lord of the Worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron'. This is a very significant event for the writer of the Hijab. The event was very important for the Qur'an itself. There are at least three occasions in the Qur'an proclaiming the challenges of the wizards, supported by the Pharoah, and their defeat by Moses, supported by God. The Qur'an (Sura 28:30-32), like the Bible (Ex 4:2-8), tells of God-given signs to be used by Moses in his contest with Pharoah and his wizards: the rod that changed into a serpent, and the whitening (leprosy) of Moses's arm. Like the Qur'an, the Hijab also presents the triumph of God over the forces of evil, over Shaitan himself.

This is not the only purpose of the Hijab for, like the Qur'an from which it draws, it declares the Being and the Nature of God Himself. He is UNIQUE, He is Creator of the Heavens and Earth, Angels, good and bad, Mankind and Beasts, and sustainer of all. But Allah, like Yahweh of the Hebrews, is a Jealous God, which His Creation must, for its own good, remember. There is no arbiter other than He, no help other than His. He has revealed what Believers must know and accept through His chosen Messengers and Warners: Moses and Muhammad. The latter, while not explicitly named in the Hijab *per se*, is clearly alluded to in its brief introduction, and indicated in the Qur'anic quotations from which it is constructed, where it is given the same prominence that is his in Islam.

The main body of the work closes with the citation of the whole of the three final Suras of the Qur'an, Sura 112 (the second half of line 20, and lines 21,22) Sura 113, lines 23-26, and Sura 114, lines 27-30. Sura 112 asserts the absolute Unity of Eternal God; Sura 113 seeks refuge in the Lord of Daybreak from the evil of that which He created and from the evil of the intense darkness¹⁶, from the evil of blowers upon knots [witch craft] and from the evil of the envier when he envies. The last Sura, 114, states:

¹⁵ The abrupt introduction of Sura 7:118 without including the background supplied by the Qur'an (Sura 7: 119) of Moses's confrontation with Pharoah and his wizards leads one to think that the compiler of the Hijab is using it to refer back to the previous verse in the Hijab quoting from Sura 68: 51,52, and confirming the vindication of Muhammad and his message. Sura 7:118 ('And the truth stood fast and vain was that which they had done'. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

¹⁶ Palmer, *op. cit.* p. 537, has 'the evil of the night when it is coming on'.

'I seek refuge in the Lord of Mankind, the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men from the evil of the whisperer who whispers in the heart of men, from Jinns, witches or Shaitans'.

Suras 113 and 114 fittingly follow the story of Moses's confrontation with the sorcerers of Pharaoh in which Moses was triumphant because the One and Only God advised him and supported him. It is in the One God, King and God of mankind that one can find refuge from the Shaitans, sorcerers, evil Jinns and evil men. These three final Suras encapsulate the teaching selected from throughout the Qur'an to give theological foundation and legitimacy for an Islamic amulet. The individual amulet *per se*, at the foot of page 3 of the Hijab, not only forms an appendage to the above record of God's power but seeks to draw on it for the protection of the individual who wears it.

On page 3 of the manuscript, Sura 114 finishes two thirds along line 30. Thereafter begins a series of supplications beginning: 'I seek refuge' which continue to line 35: 'I take refuge in the Word of God which is perfect against anger and wrath, and preserves his servants, and (I seek refuge) from the evil suggestions of the Devils and I take refuge from their presence. The last two of these supplications derive from two instances of 'I seek refuge' to be found in the Qur'an, Sura 23: 97,98.

At the beginning and the end of the line 35 on page 3 of the manuscript, there is a drawing of a pentagon, while in the middle of that same line there are two sets of parallel lines, the two vertical lines traversing the two horizontal lines # with the number III and the Arabic letter Ayin preceding the crossed line symbol, while after it are the numeral IIII and the Arabic letters Ha and Fa. The number III is the the number of the Divine Name Kafi (Sufficient), while the Arabic letter Ayin, in the *Abjad*¹⁷ order of the alphabet used in amulets numerically equals 70 and is associated with the Divine Name Ali. Fa in the same alphabet is numerically equal to 80, and is associated with the Divine Name Fattah. Ha is equivalent to 5 and is associated with the Divine Name Hadi. In line 36, we have a series of alphabetical letters, Fa, J, S, TH, Z, KH, N. These probably stand for the Divine Names Fattah (Opener); Jami (Assembler); Shaf'i (Acceptor); Thabit (Stable); Zahir (Manifest); Khaliq (Creator); Nur (Light).

The last line has the following names written in full: Farid (Unique); Jabbar (Omnipotent); Shakur (Grateful); Thabit (Stable); Zahir (Manifest); Khair (Best); Zaki (Purifier). The amulet thus closes with the powerful attributes embodied in these Names of God.

¹⁷ See T.P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, London 1885, p. 3, and pp. 72-78.

The Islamic Hijab, such as we have discussed above, is not unique to Islam. In Judaism, and even more in Samaritanism, verses from the Torah were copied out on parchment (*not* on paper as in the case of the Muslim Hijab) to be worn regularly (if on each occasion, briefly) on the person. Jewish Tefillin come to mind. Let it be stated at once that Tefillin, put on by Jewish males for their individual, private prayer, (the *Amidah* or Eighteen Benedictions) are *not* Amulets. Ancient Jewish sources clearly distinguish between the Tefillin and the Qeme'in, the latter being phylacteries. As in Islam, the wearing of amulets was quite legal in Judaism. It is only from Matthew's Gospel 23:5 that Christians have come to think that Jesus was condemning the Pharisees for making broad their Tefillin, but there is no reference to Tefillin *per se*; the 'phylacteries' referred to in Matthew would be Qeme'in. Both the Tefillin for the head, and those worn on the hand consist of specific verses of the Torah written on small strips of parchment rolled up and housed in a small leather box attached to the body with narrow leather straps. The following verses, Ex. 13:9; Ex. 13:16; Deut. 6:8; Dt. 11:18, are understood in Judaism to ordain the wearing of Tefillin. It is not my intention to go into the justification for wearing the Tefillin, or their history, but by the time of the Amoraim of the Talmud, the contents of the leather boxes, like their shape and size, had been fixed. The Tefillah worn on the head had four compartments, each containing a roll of parchment, while that worn on the hand had only one, containing a single roll. The four portions of the Torah, (Ex. 13:1-10; Ex. 13: 11-16, Dt. 6:4-9 and Dt. 11:13-21) in Jewish Tefillin stress remembrance of God's mercy and benevolence towards Israel in delivering them from Egypt and cruel slavery and of the manner in which the Pharaoh was destroyed. Ex. 13:6 ordains the keeping of the Feast of unleavened bread annually at the time of the Exodus, while Ex. 13:13 teaches the redemption of the first-born of Hebrew male children as a memorial of Israel's deliverance from Egypt v. 14 and v. 15, following the Lord's slaying of the Egyptian male first-born at the first Passover. Dt 6:4-9 begins v.4 with the clear note of Israel's monotheism: 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord/Jahweh our God is one Lord/Jahweh. Dt. 11:18 carries the injunction taken by Rabbinic Judaism as a direction to wear the Tefillin: 'Therefore shall you lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand that they may be as frontlets between your eyes'.

But what are 'these my words'? Some Jews seem to have felt that they referred to the Ten Commandments and the Shema (see the Nash Papyrus). Four Tefillin from Qumran have the Decalogue in their

Tefillin¹⁸. The Samaritans, as T.B. Men. 24b states did not observe the command to wear the Tefillin, but they had the Ten Commandments, rather than the Mezuzah¹⁹ of the Jews, (see Dt 11:20) chiselled on the stone lintel over their front doors. The biblical passages in the Jewish Mezuzah are Dt. 6:4-9; Dt 11:13-21. Again we are faced with different interpretations of 'these my words' introducing the Ten Commandments See Dt. 11:18 Note Ex. 20:1 which says: 'And God spoke all these words saying...'.²⁰

The Samaritans have no Tefillin but, like the Jews, they have Qeme'in. A good example of the Jewish Qeme'in is to be found in the Hebrew book of Razi'el ha-Malakh. I know from personal observation that these Qeme'in were still being used in a Jewish household in Leeds, England, in the 1950s. This was a Qame'a to prevent Lilith injuring a new-born infant: on it was written: 'Adam and Eve' and 'Out, out Lilith' together with the names of three good angels appointed by God to thwart Lilith's evil designs on mother and child. *Lilith* had sworn that she would do no harm to anyone wearing the names of these angels. Above the Qeme'in are the names of seventy angels and written below is the adjuration of Lilith in the names of God and those three angels, Senoy, Sansenoy and Semangelof.

In 1957, through the late Professor Kahle, the British Museum presented two Samaritan Phylacteries to the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Leeds. They had been sewn together to form a parchment scroll, four feet long and sixteen feet wide²⁰. Early Samaritan Phylacteries were folded lengthways to produce a strip or band, which was worn over the arm. In this case, one phylactery was broad, the other narrow, and it was possible to identify places where the parchment had been worn away by bodily contact. When opened, the Samaritan phylactery was an oblong piece of stout parchment, with a frame made up of the words of Ex 14, 19-23 in BPL²¹ written round the edge. BPR had an outer frame made up of Ex 14, 20-25, and an inner frame consisting of

¹⁸ Two of the four Qumran Tefillin, 4Qa and 4Qb have the ten commandments. The Murabba'at Tefillah at least accords with the contents of the Rabbinic Tefillin.

¹⁹ The Mezuzah is a tiny scroll of parchment on which is written Dt 6:4-9 and Dt. 11: 13-21. The Hebrew text of the Mezuzah takes up 22 lines. The roll is placed in a metal or wooden container and fixed to the righthand jamb of the outer doorway, with the top slanting towards the top of the door.

²⁰ J. Bowman, 'Phylacteries', in F.L. Cross et al, (ed.), *Studia Evangelica*, Akademie-Verlag: Berlin 1959, pp. 523-538.

²¹ BPL signifies Bishop Phylactery Left, just as BPR signifies Bishop Phylactery Right. Left and Right refer to their position before separation. See also Raphael Patai, *The Hebrew Goddess*, Ktav Publishing House: New York 1967, p. 227.

Ex 14, 19 to Ex 17,10-16. Within this double frame are seven columns of text, divided by Ex 14, 13-25; Ex 17, 10-16. written perpendicularly in the margins between the columns.

The broad band made by one of these phylacteries may throw light on the expression in Matthew 23:5 'make broad their phylacteries', assuming that the Pharisees, like the Samaritans, wore Qeme'in; certainly they were not forbidden to do so.²²

Although not identical, both Samaritan phylacteries start with the same verses from Dt 32,3-4, stressing the Name²³ of God and his creative Word. Thereafter they give a Qataf, or digest of the Torah. The actual words of the Bible are used, although often verses are not quoted in full, but indicated briefly. The basic ideas in the selection of the Biblical texts are

- the Covenants of God with the Patriarchs, and his continuing covenant with their descendants.
- the revelation of God himself and of His Names in the Torah.
- the revelation in the Ten Commandments of His demands on His worshippers. Both these Samaritan phylacteries stress the Unity of God, the Creator of the Heavens and Earth.

Both Phylacteries proceed in the remaining columns to reiterate and elaborate these basic ideas by prayer to God, and by reiteration to the wearers. The action of the phylactery is twofold, Godward and manward. Through the words of Torah and the Name of God to lay hold on God and His power and to bind it to the wearer who, clad with the power of God through his Word and his Names becomes possessed of the Divine promises of blessing and protection against ills, material and spiritual.

In the Leeds manuscript, BPL is mainly in Hebrew, but has some prayers in Aramaic and occasional Greek words in Hebrew characters.²⁴ BPR is entirely in Hebrew.²⁵ In this phylactery prominence is given to

²² Bowman, *loc. cit.*, p. 532.

²³ They could be worn even on the Sabbath, M. Shab. 6:2. Like the Tefillin and Mezuzoth, they could contain passages out of the Torah and the letters of the name of God. As I pointed out in the article referred to above, Targum *Shir ha-Shirim* admits that Tefillin and Mezuzoth were permissible amulets which preserved Israel from the power of the demons.

²⁴ See Bowman, *loc. cit.* p. 534 in which describes a spell against the Archon Ailos of Babel which was to be said silently seven times. If this were against the Emperor Hadrian Aelius Hadrianus, the prototype of this phylactery could be second century A.D., though the manuscript itself, from its Samaritan Hebrew writing is probably thirteenth century. The BPL is reproduced on a reduced scale on the cover of J. Bowman, *The Samaritan Problem*, Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series, No. 6. The Pickwick Press: Pittsburgh, Pa. 1975.

²⁵ Bowman, Phylacteries (n. 20), p. 534.

Moses vanquishing the wizards of the Pharoah, and implying that God will similarly protect anyone who wears this phylactery. 'The Lord will remove from them all evil and hurtful things from him who is clothed with the thy names O Lord, through thy righteousness. The Lord shall remove their words and their names. And the magicians could not stand before Moses (Ex.9:11)²⁶ and shall not stand before him who is clothed with thy Name O Lord. And it will not be allowed by the God that you should be hurt by anything that is in the heaven or anything that is on the earth. The Lord is great, the Lord is God.

BPR of this Samaritan phylactery has some points of similarity with the Arabic Islamic Hijab, however, I do not think that the Samaritan phylactery writer borrowed from the Muslim. The prototypes of these two Samaritan phylacteries are older than Islam. It is significant that Abjad in Muslim talismans uses, so far as it goes, the order of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. The Samaritan believes his Torah in Hebrew is the complete Word of God; the Muslim believes his Qur'an in Arabic is the complete Word of God. In both traditions, the Divine power is drawn upon for personal protection against all evil, spiritual and material, that may afflict people. To this end, verses from the Torah or the Qur'an are chosen to declare God the Creator's omnipotence, omniscience, and concern for those who believe in Him. The Samaritan phylactery manages to draw on the Torah more fully by its system of Qataf, using significant words instead of whole verses, but all is covered one way or another. Traces of a similar system seem to occur in one or two places in the Hijab, but it is not developed in any systematic way.

One significant similarity is the way in which both the BPR and the Hijab highlight the domination by Moses of the magicians of Pharoah. (Ex. 9:11). Although each follows its own source, the Qur'an for the Hijab, and the Torah for the Samaritan phylactery, both capture the power of the happening they describe. The wearer of the phylactery or of the Hijab could take refuge in the God through whose power Moses could rebuff the wizards.

For the Samaritan, this powerful event was recorded in the Torah, and possibly also in his phylactery, before the Qur'anic version was revealed. The words used for phylacteries tend to be copied over the centuries without any significant change. There is nothing to suggest that this

²⁶ Among the wizards who would be unable to stand up against anyone wearing this phylactery is Theodore, a neo-Platonic philosopher of the fifth century, and an acquaintance of Marinus of Nablus who is also targetted by this spell. See Bowman, *loc. cit.*, p. 534.

Hijab²⁷ was styled on any Samaritan phylactery. However, there were Samaritans in Egypt until at least the fourteenth century, Samaritans in Damascus at least until the seventeenth century, and Samaritans in Jaffa until the nineteenth century. The writing of the Hijab on narrow rolls is reminiscent of the narrow columns of the Samaritan phylactery. At best, the relationship is vague, but distant though it is, it should not be dismissed out of hand.

²⁷ From line 35 page 3 of the Hijab manuscript *Abjab* as there used in connection with Divine Names/Attributes would seem to owe much to acquaintance with the kind of Samaritan phylacteries discussed above.

THE SYLLABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF BYBLOS:
TEXTS C AND A

BY

BRIAN E. COLLESS

Continuing my study of the inscriptions in Gublaic syllabic script, Bronze Tablet C and Stone Stela A will now be considered. For the sign inventory from Gubla (Byblos) see my article on the Byblos syllabary and the proto-alphabet (Colless 1992). For additional information see my examination of Bronze Tablet D (Colless 1993).

TEXT C (Bronze Tablet)

Description: Dunand, 74-76.

This bronze tablet is inscribed from right to left, in long lines, with spaces at the end of nine of its fifteen lines. The metal has suffered severe corrosion, but most of the glyphs are legible. The spaces at the left side of several lines show the direction of writing (right to left, as in texts D and A), and boustrophedon writing is not a possibility here.

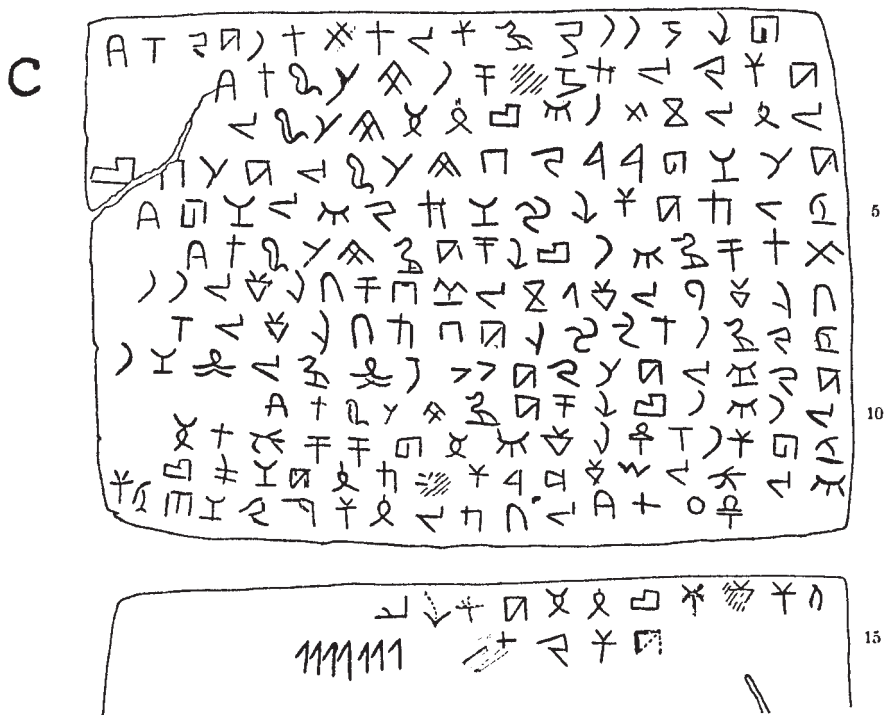
Depiction: Dunand, 75 (drawing); Dunand, plate IX (photographs).

Interpretation: Mendenhall, 94-112.

The document seems to be a marriage contract: a father gives his daughter Habula (01) to a man named Shutu (06) or Shutun (01), possibly a prince (*saru*, 06). The father is apparently unnamed, but he is perhaps the same king as in text D, namely Ḫuru-Ba'ilu (since tablets C and D were found together).

Obverse

01. *ha bu la ni ni ti ru ḫi ma tu šu tu ni ba ti mi m*
02. *ba ḫi ti ma ta la [bi?]sa ni ka yi na tu m*
03. *ma 'i ma wišu ni bi hu 'i 'a ka yi na ma*
04. *ba yi li ha ra ra ti ta ka yi na ma ba yi ta hu*
05. *pa ma ta ba ḫi mu tu li ta ti bi ma li ha m*
06. *šu tu sa ru bi ni hu mu sa ba ru ka yi na tu m*
07. *'u bu du wu ma du ga wi ma ya ta sa 'u bu du ma ni ni*
08. *pa ti ru ni tu si tu bu ba ta ta 'u bu du ma mi*



09. *ba ti ya? ma ba yi ti ba ri ri za/ni hi ru ma hi li ni*

10. *ma ni bi ni hu mu sa ba ru ka yi na tu m*

11. *pa ha hi ni mi ta bu du bi 'a ha sa sa nu tu 'a*

12. *bi ma nu ma ša du da ra hi ma ta 'i ba li gu hu*

13. *ta ši tu m ma 'u ta ma 'i hi lu ti li su pa hi*

Reverse

14. *wa hi du bi hu 'i 'a ba hi mu zu*

15. [] *ba hi ti* [] 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

C 1 *ha bu la ni ni ti ru hi ma tu šu tu ni ba ti mi m*

"Habula my daughter is the beloved of Shutun in integrity"

[Habula my daughter is the 'beloved' (betrothed) of Thutun in legitimacy (Mendenhall, 95,112)]

habula: "Habula", a name found in Old North Arabic inscriptions, and cp. *hebel* "Abel" in Genesis 4:2 (Mendenhall, 95); its Hebrew meaning, "vanity" is not really an appropriate name for a girl, so there must be

another root behind it. There is a mutilated space at the beginning of the line, which could have had a syllable, but probably not.

niniti: “my daughter”; cp. Hbr. *nīn*, “offspring, son” (Gen. 21:23). Mendenhall sees *buniti* (“my daughter”, cp. Akd. *bun(a)tu* alongside *bintu*) as a possible reading; there is a slight mark toward the bottom of the first sign, suggesting *bu*, but when we compare all the cases of *ni* and *bu* on this tablet, double *ni* seems what the engraver intended.

ruḥimatu: “beloved”, verbal noun (passive participle), meaning possibly “legitimately betrothed”; see further Mendenhall, 95; contrast *raḥimata* “damsel?” in C 12 below. The root meaning is associated with “womb”, and this document seems to take account of the expected fruit of her womb (C 4-5).

šutuni: “of Shutun?”; Mendenhall (96) compares Hbr. *šēt* (Shet, Seth) of Gen. 4:25, like Hebel, a son of Adam; for the *-un* he invokes the Hbr. names Zebulun and Yeshurun. The sequence *šu tu* also occurs at the start of line 6. (Note that the sequence *tu ni ba* is reminiscent of *tunibi* in D 32, understood there by Mendenhall and myself as “fruit, produce”, root *nwb*, “be fruitful”.)

ba-timim: “in integrity”, meaning “wholly and solely”, or “whole-heartedly” (root *tmm* “be complete, be perfect”); Mendenhall (96) says “in legitimacy”; he cites Judges 9:16, *be’emet ūbātāmīm*, “if you have acted with truth and with integrity” (but Mendenhall: “in good faith and legitimacy”), referring to acting sincerely in making Abimelek king.

C 2 *ba ḥi ti ma ta la [bi?]sa ni ka yi na tu m*

“And for life you will constantly clothe her (for me?).”

[In fear (conscientiously) you shall clothe her in perpetuity (Mendenhall, 96, 112)]

ba-ḥiti-ma: “and in life”, meaning “for the duration of life”; Mendenhall (96-97) proposes Hbr. *ḥitt* “fear”; my interpretation has *ḥi* as a logogram, **ḥiwatu* (cp. Ugr. *hyt*, OSArb. *hywt* and *ḥwt*, Biella, 173) “life”, with *-ti* as a phonetic complement, indicating the genitive case after the preposition *ba*. Cp. *bḥyyh* “in her life(time)”, Leviticus 18:18 (also a conjugal context).

tala [bi?]sa ni: Mendenhall (97) plausibly restores the obliterated sign to produce the root *lbs* “wear, be clothed” (Hbr. *lbš*, Akd. *labāšu*, Arb. *labisa*, II “clothe”). He normalizes it as *talabbisa-nni*, “you shall clothe her”, D-stem (cp. Arb. and Akd.), with *-a* signalling optative mood, and with suffixes *-ni-ḥi* becoming *-anni* (cp. Segert 1984, 48: “in some cases ... /n/ appears and the expected /h-/ of the pronoun is omitted”); but *-ḥi* is a surprising suffix for 3 f. sg. (*-ha* is expected); *-ni* could simply be “me”,

accusative or dative. Indeed, this could be a case where two pronominal suffixes are present, though the *-ha* (“her”, acc. case) has been elided (*-sa-ha-ni* becoming *-sā-ni*), hence “you (the husband) shall clothe her (the wife) for me (the father)”.

Who is speaking? In line 1 it is surely the father talking about his daughter and son-in-law. In line 2, he would be addressing the husband and stating the latter’s obligations towards his new wife, in Mendenhall’s view, and likewise in the interpretation just given, whereby all three of the parties are included. But it could be the woman speaking to her spouse: “you (m. sg.) shall clothe me”, and even (but most improbably) “she shall clothe me”. Notice that the scribe leaves spaces at the end of several lines, and these may indicate completed sentences, and perhaps also changes of speaker. The assumption that it is a king speaking throughout the whole document, as in text D, is reasonable but not certain.

On the husband’s obligation to clothe his wife, cp. Exodus 21:10: “her food, her clothing, her conjugal rights”. The Egyptian *Instruction of the Vizier Ptahhotep*, 325-331, has much in common with the present context: “establish your house (cp. “establish his house”, C 4), love your wife ardently (cp. “beloved”, C 1), fill her belly, clothe her back (cp. “clothe”, C 2), ... gladden her heart as long as you live (cp. “for life”, C 2), she is a fertile field for her lord” (cp. “in her fulness”, C 5).

kayinatum: “constantly”, “continually”; a nominative absolute? (cp. *kawanatum* in A 3, and see Mendenhall, 97). In document C, the root *kyn* is found consistently (see C 3, 4, 6, 10), but *kwn* in texts A and D; see notes on A 3 below.

C 3 *ma`i ma wišu ni bi hu`i`a ka yi na ma*

“I solemnly bestow whatever is mine on him”

[Any defect existing in her I establish (Mendenhall, 98)]

ma`i ma: Mendenhall (92) has taken *`ima* in D 40 as “if”, but here he relates *ma`ima* to Hbr. *mā`ūmah* and *mūm*, “something”, “blemish”; hence “any defect”, accusative case, object of the verb at the end of this line, which seems to constitute a whole sentence, seeing that considerable space remains.

wišu-ni: Mendenhall (98) sees this as the “etonym” of Hbr. *yēš*, Akd. *išu*, “there is”; as a noun *yēš* means “substance, property”; if *-ni* means “to me” (cp. note on “enclitic *-ni*” in D 2a, Colless 1993), then the phrase could signify “whatever substance I have”.

bi-hu`i: if this not derived from *bh`* “enter” (cp. OSArb. *bh`*, Biella, 37, alongside *bw`* “enter”, Biella, 38; see notes on D 4, Colless 1993), then it is the preposition *b-* “in” with a pronom. suffix. For Mendenhall (98) the

suffix is *hu'i*, with *-i* marking the genitive case after the preposition; but, to achieve the meaning “in her”, he has to assume that the 3 p. sg. suffixed pronoun “was not gender differentiated” (cp. 1 p. sg.). The same sequence of three signs occurs in line 13, and there Mendenhall (111, 112) has “him”. Support for Mendenhall’s case can be found in the fact that in Sabaic, although the masc. affix was *-hw* and the fem. affix *-h*, the fem. use of *-hw* was frequent (Beeston 1984, 39-40; and Rendsburg 1989, 116, who also points out that Pentateuchal *hw* was used for “he” and “she”).

'akayina ma: “I cause to be”, “I establish” (cp. Arb. *kwn* II “bring into being, create, produce”); for Mendenhall (98) it is a D-stem verb, 1 sg. optative imperfect; but the meaning “create” is unsuitable for his “any defect existing in her”; though the Hbr. *hip'il* perhaps offers “repair” alongside “prepare”. The enclitic *-ma* would be for emphasis.

Could it be “I bestow whatever is mine on him”? The speaker could be the father, or the woman. The reference might be to the dowry being provided. But the word rendered “bestow” seems to mean “create, establish” in the next line.

'i: if this is a separate entity, perhaps cp. Arb. *'i*, which introduces an oath (“yes, by God”), and which Segert (1984, 178) suggests for Ugr. *i'*; Akd. *i* is used with 1 p. pl., cohortative (“let us ...”). The word “solemnly” attempts to bring out this possibility in the very tentative translation offered above. Other possible cases of this particle of affirmation appear in D 1 and D 19b (Colless 1993).

C 4 *ba yi li ha ra ra ti ta ka yi na ma ba yi ta hu*

“With a cherished family may she establish his house”

[With desirable offspring she shall establish his house (Mendenhall (99))]

The previous line was short (with a space at the end), so this appears to be a new sentence, possibly with a new speaker. The assumption will be, however, that the father is still speaking.

ba yili: “with offspring”? Mendenhall (99) thinks this noun (in the genitive case) might come from *yiliyi* (root *yly*, cognate with Arb. *wali*, cp. my note on *yalanu* in D 14b, Colless 1993), “kin”, here meaning children; should we therefore emend it to *yilidi* “children” (Ugr. *yld* and *wld*, Hbr. *yeled*, Arb. *walad*, “child”? Is the following *ha* the 3 p. sg. f. suffix, hence “her offspring”? This would leave an impossible word *rarati*, unless the scribe should have written double *ha* instead of double *ra*, and *harati* is from *bry* “conceive” (cp. Hbr. *hārāh*, “pregnant”), yielding *ba yiliha harati* “with her conceived offspring”? Possibly there is a solution waiting at the end of this line of argument, but Mendenhall, reasonably enough, derives

his *hararāti* (gen. pl. fem. collective, agreeing with *yilī*) from *hrr* “desire?” (Ugr. *hrr* is found in parallel with *hmd* “desire”).

takayina-ma: “she shall establish”, according to Mendenhall (99,) 3 f. sg. optative D-stem; cp. Psalm 127: 1, 3, for the conjunction of “building a house” and having children, “fruit of the womb”. The enclitic *-ma* would be for emphasis (as at the end of the previous line).

bayita-hu: “his house” (acc. case with 3 sg. m. pronom. suffix); cp. *bayiti* in C 9 below.

C 5 *pa ma ta ba ḥi mu tu li ta ti bi ma li ha m*

“and in her fulness make (it/him) great with young ones”

[And when they are numerous in progeny in their fulness (Mendenhall 99)]

pa ma ta ba ḥi mu: Mendenhall (100) makes a double conjunction out of *pa-mata* “and when”, though Hbr. *mati*, which he invokes in support, is always interrogative. Could *mata* be “death” or “he has died”, and *ba ḥi mu* “in the life (*ḥi* logogram) of the king” (*mu* logogram, Colless 1992, 83)? If, however, there is a finite verb in this line, it will be found within this sequence; and for Mendenhall, it is *baḥimu*, 3 p. pl. pf., with presumed final long *u* vowel. Finding a cognate root is a problem. Mendenhall has to resort to Arb. *faḥuma* “be grand, stately” (rather than *faḥuma* “be black”, also Hbr., Ugr. *phm*), and from that he moves to “they are numerous” (referring to the parents?).

The *ma* sign does not have a handle like the other “sickles” in this document, so it could be taken as *ri* (*riglu* “leg”); but *ri* actually occurs in line 9, as an angle pointing in the opposite direction (right). If the *ma* is intended, then it may be there to intensify *pa*, “and indeed”. In my view this follows on from the previous line (which goes right to the left edge of the plate), whereas Mendenhall has the conjunction and verb leading on to the verb in the next line (C 6). This appears less likely, as the scribe seems to be using the mimation sign *-m* (and usually also a space) to close his sentences (C 1, 2, 5, 6, 10), and this and the next line have both.

Can the hypothetical *bḥm*, “be great”, extend to “be great with child”? In any case the verb would be *tabaḥimu*, 3 sg. f. impf., and refer to the mother, the same subject as for *takayina*, “she shall establish”; and *tabaḥimu* would also be a D-stem (but with normal *-u*), and on the Arb. analogy it could mean “she will honour”, the object being either “him” or the “house”.

tulitati: Mendenhall (100) has *ḥulitati*, which he supposes to mean “progeny” (literally “perpetuity”, or “continuity through progeny”, Hbr. *ḥeled* “duration of life”). My reading *tulitati* is equally problematic, but the context of bearing children suggests a connection with Hbr. *ṭāleh*,

Arm. *ṭalyāʾ*, *ṭalyāt-āʾ*, “young” (lamb, child), though the extra *-t-* is puzzling. This word could likewise fit Mendenhall’s description: “the oblique plural feminine form of an abstract or collective noun”, with “an accusative of specification that describes the situation in which the previous verb is operative”. Alternatively we could read *šalitati* (see notes on *tu*, Colless 1992, 76), but no suggestion is offered for its interpretation.

bi-mali-ha-m: “in her fulness”, root *ml* “be full” (cp. “the womb of the ‘full’ woman” in Qohelet 11:5). Mendenhall argues that this is “in their fulness”, referring to the children (*yili*, f. pl.), but *-ham* seems to be a strange 3 p. pl. fem. suffix (Hbr. *-hen*, Ugr. *-hn*, Arb. *-hunnu*, alongside masc. *-hem*, *-hm*, *-hum* respectively); rather, *-ha* (here with mimation, denoting a pause?) is the 3 p. sg. fem. (Phn. **-hā*, Segert 1976, 103), and *-hu* is 3p. sg. m. in these texts.

C 6 *šu tu sa ru bi ni hu mu sa ba ru ka yi na tu m*

[may (?) well-being be assured them in perpetuity (Mendenhall, 112)]

kayinatum: “constantly”, as in line 2.

šu tu sa ru bi ni hu mu: Mendenhall (101) divides this into two words, *šutusaru bini-humu*, the second being a preposition (*bini*, extended form of *bi* “in”) with 3 p. pl. m. suffix, “among them”. The preposition could possibly be *bn* “between” (Hbr., Arm. *bēn*, Ugr. *bn*, Arb. *bayna*, OSArb. *byn*), with *binihumu* corresponding to Hbr. *bēnēhem* “between them”. Mendenhall (102), however, describes *bini* as the preposition *b-* plus the enclitic *-ma* that has been dissimilated to *-ni*, and he points to OSArb. *bn* for confirmation. He goes on to assert that *bn* would have become *mn*, the separable preposition *min* (“from”) in the Iron Age. There are difficulties with this view: *mi(n)* seems to occur in these texts (see the note on *mi-* in A 1, below, and Colless 1992, 82); it is attested in Bronze Age Ugaritic (Segert 1984, 78, and 191 on *m-* /*mi(n)*/; *bin* “in” apparently occurs in Bib. Hbr. (Jonah 4:10, see Rendsburg 1989, 110-111 and 117, who adds that the addition of *n* to the prepositions *b* and *l* in OSArb. does not always produce the meaning “from”).

šutusaru is parsed by Mendenhall (101-102) as “Shafel-causative reflexive-stative perfect of the verb *wasāru*”. Akd. *wašāru* has the general meanings “let go, set free, send”, and *ašāru* is “watch over, care for”.

The sequence *sabaru* is possibly a noun, “well-being” (Mendenhall), or “hope” (Arm., Syr.); another attractive possibility is *šabrāʾ* “infant, boy” (Arm., Syr.). Emending *sa ru bi* to *sa-bi-ru* would produce yet another case of the *figura etymologica* (see D 13, 37, 39), perhaps meaning “hope will be assured”.

A conceivable division of the signs would be *šutu saru bini hu musabaru kayinatum*, “Prince Shutu is my intended son for ever”, or the like.

“Shutu” would be the simple form of “Shutun”, the name of the husband (see line 1); *saru* could correspond to Hbr. *šar* “prince, chief” (Akd. *šarru* “king”); *bini* is “my son” (Hbr. *bēn* “son”, *bənī* “my son”); *hu* is 3 p. sg. m. pronoun; *musabaru* could be a D passive participle. This would be the father’s statement of acceptance of the husband as his own son.

Then again, *binihumu* could be “their sons” (Hbr. *bənēhem*).

The range of choices is embarrassing. Whatever decision is made, the translation will have to fit in with line 10, where most of the same sequence is found.

C 7 ‘*u bu du wu ma du ga wi ma ya ta sa ‘u bu du ma ni ni*

[Abundant mutual benefit will be beneficial to them (Mendenhall, 112)]

Mendenhall (103-104) is perplexed by this sentence; the root ‘*bd* seems to be present twice, and he can not accept a slavery connotation for it; and so he tries “be submissive and obedient”, and “be of benefit to”, with *nini* as “them”.

nini: “my child” (m.), cp. *niniti* “my child” (f.) in line 1. This would follow reasonably from the previous line, where *bini* (“my son?”) occurs; possibly the father is now saying something about his relationship to his son-in-law.

Two rare signs confront us in this line, accepted by Mendenhall and myself as *wi* and *wu*. The words ‘*u bu du wu ma* and *du ga wi ma* look strange, by later West Semitic standards; but *dugawi* finds a root in Hbr. *dgw* “be numerous” (Genesis 48:16 only, referring to prospective descendants); does it mean “teem” like fish (Hbr. *dāg* “a fish”)? Proliferation of children (*nini*?) certainly suits the context.

wu ma: perhaps this represents *wə-ma* “and moreover” (see Gordon 1987, 29-41); cp. *pa-ma* in C 5 above?

‘*ubuduwu* may be a noun, nominative case, masculine gender, formed with an ending *-wu*, meaning “service”? But possibly the root ‘*bṭ* (“pledge”) is what we have rather than ‘*bd* (“serve”); cp. ‘*ubudi* as possibly “obligors” (those bound to another by contract, or giving bond) in D 22 and 27 (Colless 1993).

yatasa‘ubudu: a finite verb, 3 p. m. sg., S-causative?, t-reflexive?, a complicated way of saying “become” (“be made”)?

C 8 *pa ti ru ni tu si ṭu bu ba ta ta ‘u bu du ma mi*

[Furthermore, ... beloved, you shall benefit each other, and... (Mendenhall, 112)]

Mendenhall (104-105) is highly perplexed by this line, and no convincing solution to its problems can be offered here.

pa ti ru ni tu: this seems to be the first word, with *pa*- “and” (“indicates a change of subject”, Mendenhall, 104); *tirunitu* is analysed as possibly a verb from the root *rnn* “rejoice”, with a 1 pl. pronom. suffix (Mendenhall, 104). Or is it a noun, “jubilation”? There could be another “jubilate” root at the end of the next line (*hll*). Note, however, that the top projection of the cross for *tu* is so slight that the sign could be *mi*. Another possibility is *tir’u*, root *r’y* “see”, with elision of the ’aleph (Mendenhall, 104), which could be impf. 2 m. sg. or pl. (“you shall see”), or 3 f. sg. (“she shall see”); for other possibilities cp. *yaruni* in D 20 and D 28. Could it be “and she shall provide for me” (*-ni*)? And could *bata* be “a daughter”, and be the object of this verb?

si tu bu ba ta: Mendenhall (105) has *yuhubbuba* “beloved?”; he fails to mention that the same sequence of six signs recurs in D 16a (first noticed by Dunand, 95); there he gave its meaning as “purified”. (In fact, D 16-20 has a number of parallels with C 7-9: the root *’bd*, *siṭububata*, *batiya*, and *yaruni* or *tiruni*). If this verb is a D stem (and passive?) as Mendenhall suggests, then my reading goes with the root *ṭwb* “be good” (see notes on D 16a, Colless 1993). If this is a D stem with causative *s*, then possible meanings (cp. Akd. *ṭābu*) are “make good, beautiful, friendly”.

ta ta: the two signs are so different as to cast suspicion on the decipherment, but see my notes on *ta* (Colless 1992, 92-93).

’u bu du: see the notes on this sequence in C 7 above; Mendenhall (105) constructs a verb *tata’budu* (a qal reflexive/middle form).

ma mi: Mendenhall (105) attaches these two syllables to the preceding verb, but he does not attempt to explain them, except that his translation has “and” for *-ma*. *Mami* is the name of the Mesopotamian birth-goddess (in the Epic of Atrakhasis), and her presence in this context would not seem out of place. However, if *-ma* is “and”, then *mi*- could be “from” (not recognized by Mendenhall in these texts); for another possible example see A 1, as also C 11 below; here its position at the end of a line is strange, especially as there is space for another sign there; nevertheless, the first word in the next line is *batiya*, “my daughter”, genitive case, as would be expected after a preposition.

C 9 *ba ti ya? ma ba yi ti ba ri ri za/ni hi ru ma hi li ni*

[(building?) a pure house, they are “shining” hereto (Mendenhall, 112)]

This seems to be the second line of a long sentence extending from line 7 to line 10, and ending with the same words as the sentence in line 6.

batiya: “my daughter”, gen. case, possibly after preposition *mi-* “from”. It should be noted that the alleged *ya*-sign (quite different from the clear example in line 7) is really a *bi* with a horizontal stroke beneath it, possibly to cross it out as a mistake; in any case, if it is not *ya*, then *bati* would be “my daughter”, nom. case, or else “daughter”, gen. case. If it is in fact *bi*, then *bi-ma* would correspond to Ugr. *bm* “in”, where the preposition *b* apparently has enclitic *-mā* (Gordon 1965, 93, but he presumes *ba-mā*, though *bi-* is the characteristic Ugr. form; see Segert 1984, 78 and 180).

bayiti: “house” (meaning “dynasty”, Mendenhall, 105), gen. case, perhaps likewise after the preposition *mi-* in line 8; or, more probably, after the preposition *bima*; or else it is “my house”, nom. case; cp. *bayitahu* “his house”, accus. case, in line 4.

bariri: “pure”, masc. sg. gen. or oblique pl., common Semitic root *brr*. One question is whether the angular signs constitute one leg (*riglu*) or two, that is, whether to read *bari* or *bariri*; in either case Akd. *barru* (“pure”) could be invoked, with a dead vowel in the first *ri*. The problem is that West Semitic *bayt* (“house”, pl. *btm*, Hbr., Ugr.) is normally feminine (though Akd. *bītu* is mostly masculine in the singular, but pl. *bītātu*).

za/ni hi ru ma: Mendenhall (19, 28, 105) reads the first sign as the only case of *za* in this corpus; but I have argued (Colless 1992, 70) that it could be a simplified form of the sign he reads as *zu* in D 28 (twice), both representing a tail (*zanabu*), hence *za*. However, the sign here is almost indistinguishable from *ni* (see the example at the end of this line, and also *ni ni* at the end of line 7). Certainly *zahiru*, from *zhr* “shine”, is an attractive choice for this context (Mendenhall, 105), but *nihiru* could also come from a “shine” root, *nhr* (Arb., Hbr., Arm.). Is it a verb (3 p. pf. pl., or a participle), or a noun or adjective (nom. case)?

hi li ni: Mendenhall (106) connects this with Ugr. *hl* “this”, *hln* “then”, *hlly* “here”, claiming it as the ancestor of the later West Semitic demonstratives and definite articles. On the other hand, the root *hll* might be in evidence here; this is the root that goes with the sign *hi* (a jubiler, **hillulu* “jubilation”). As an onomatopoeic verb it means “trill”, “sing”, “praise”. Another meaning (presumably a separate root) is “shine”, and this is concordant with the “pure” and “bright” connotations of the two preceding words. The *ni* could be the pronom. suffix “me”.

C 10 *ma ni bi ni hu mu sa ba ru ka yi na tu m*

The first two syllables, *ma ni*, are puzzling to Mendenhall (106); he suggests it might be “a pronominal adjective” (“what?”; cp. Hbr. *mān* in

Exodus 16:15). The remainder of this line has an identical counterpart in line 6. Note the final *-m* (indicating a pause?), and the space left at the end of each line (C 6, 10).

C 11 *pa ha ḥi ni mi ṭa bu du bi 'a ha sa sa nu tu 'a*

[Furthermore, an act of corruption in... (Mendenhall, 112)]

pa: Mendenhall (106) points out that this conjunction is introducing another main clause, as it apparently does at the beginning of line 5 and line 8. There is a space at the end of the line, possibly indicating the end of a sentence, but not necessarily.

ha ḥi ni mi: Mendenhall, 107, settles on a root *ḥny*, “destroy”, after trying *ḥnn* “be gracious”, and diagnoses “*h-* causative preterite”, with “enclitic *-mi*”. However, *mi-* might be the preposition “from” (cp. A 1, and notes on *mi* in Colless 1992, 82).

ṭa bu du: Mendenhall (107) has *ma'budu* “deed”; my reading of the first sign (elsewhere only in C13 and D 32) is *ṭa*, and the sequence possibly represents *ṭābtu* “good deed” or “blessing” (cp. Akd., von Soden, 1377); but Akd. *ṭābūtu* or *ṭābuttu* might be a more suitable analogue, with *d* representing *tt*, cp. *šaduda* for *šadutta* in D 33 (Colless 1993), and perhaps in C 12. The final *-u* is not necessarily “the nominative case-ending” indicating “the subject of the verb”, as Mendenhall presumes. It could be a dead vowel or a neutral vowel, in a construct chain, followed by a genitive case, as apparently in D 32 (Colless 1993); but there is no noun ending in *-i* in this line, unless we rearrange the following three characters.

bi 'a ha: perhaps read *'abi-ha*, “of her father”; hence “the goodness of her father”, either as the subject of the verb, or after the preposition *mi-* “from”.

sa sa nu tu 'a: this sequence has Mendenhall perplexed, and he suggests that a name is lurking in it. The double *sa* is certainly puzzling; one of them could be the causative prefix *sa-* (standing alongside a *ha-* causative prefix at the start of the sentence); or it might be a relative pronoun *ša* with assimilation to the following *sa*. One tentative solution would be to bring the *bi* from the beginning of line 12 into this orbit (despite the gap between lines 11 and 12) and read *sanutu 'abi*, “the hatred of the father” (*šn* “hate”), but a difficulty is that the Hbr. and Phn. noun *šn't* (“hatred”) retains the *'alep* (though cp. *mali* for *mali'* in line 5 above?).

C 12 *bi ma nu ma ša du da ra ḥi ma ta 'i ba li gu hu*

[Against anyone who assaults the young lady, I will overcome him (Mendenhall, 107); anyone who does violence to the young lady I will assail (Mendenhall, 112)]

bi: preposition, “against” (Mendenhall, 107), but as there is no genitive case in sight, he has to assume that the indefinite pronoun is indeclinable; but the syllable *bi* perhaps belongs to the previous word, in line 12.

manuma: “whoever”; cp. the Eblaic indefinite pronoun *manuma*, apparently nom. and acc. case (D.O. Edzard, in Fronzaroli 1984, 113). In my notes on D 32-33 (Colless 1993) the possibility is envisaged that *ma nu* means “our sickle”, and that *šaduda* is “harvest”; but this idea does not seem productive here.

ša du da: Mendenhall (107-108) makes a verb from this sequence, perfect tense, stative form, but “clearly a transitive verb with a direct object”; the root would be *šdd* “be violent”, “destroy” (Mendenhall 81-82). In its occurrence in D 33, I take *šaduda* to be a variant of *šaduta* in A 5 (cp. A 6, 8, 9; see notes on *du* in Colless 1992, 66), and relate both to Akd. *šaduttu* “income, harvest”. The same connection is possible here. However, if *ša* is a relative pronoun, *duda* becomes a separate entity: possibly the “pot”, *dūdu* (which signifies *du* in this syllabary), or perhaps *dōdu*, “beloved” or “uncle” (cp. Hbr.), though we would expect *dādu* (cp. Akd.).

raḥimata: “damsel?”; Mendenhall (108) compares Hbr. **raḥmāh* in Judges 5:30, and *ṛḥmt* in line 17 of the Moabite stela of King Mesha⁷. He contrasts this with *ruḥimatu* “beloved”, “the passive participle form of the same root in line C 1”.

’i ba li gu hu: Mendenhall (108) normalizes this as *’iballigu+hu* (“I will overcome him”, cp. Arb. *flj* “conquer” or “divide, distribute”, Hbr. *plg*); he cites the problematic *hmblyg šd* in Amos 5:9, as signifying “who brings retribution for violence”; but, as he acknowledges, *blg* (Hbr., cp. Arb.) can mean “gleam” or “smile”.

C 13 *ṭa ši tu m ma ’u ta ma ’i ḥi lu ti li su pa ḥi*

[I will destroy the one who acts corruptly (?) (Mendenhall, 112)]

ṭa ši tu m: Mendenhall (109) has *ma’putu+m*, but his proposed value for the first sign, *ma’*, is unlikely, in view of the same combination of sounds in the very next word. What *ṭašitum* could mean is beyond my knowledge (unless the first sign is a logogram, and *ṭabu šitum* means “good is the foundation”). The presence of final mimation is puzzling, given that this has apparently been used thus far to indicate the end of a sentence (lines 1, 2, 5, 6, 10); and yet there is a space at the end of the preceding line, and there is room for two characters at the beginning of this line; Mendenhall feels that the word he reads is “an adverbial nominative form”, and probably “a modifier of the preceding word or phrase”.

ma ʿu ta ma: Mendenhall (109) construes this as *māʿuta+ma*, “a *ma*-preformative noun”, root (Arb.) *ʿtw*, “behave proudly, be immoderate, corrupt”, accusative case (-a), apparently the object of the following verb.

ʿi hi lu: Mendenhall (109) proposes *ʿihillu*, 1 p. sg. verb, impf.; “parallel in both form and meaning to the *ʿiballigu* of line 12” (Sabea *hll* “harm, destroy”, Hbr. “be defiled, profane”); but perhaps we should also consider Sabea *hlw*, “guard, take care of” (Biella, 202). Mendenhall, 110, constructs an object for this verb, *tiliḥa*, but because the alleged *ḥa* character has only three vertical strokes (instead of four or more), I have suggested it is *su* (cp. Hbr. *sukkāh* “booth”). A possible reading is then *li supaḥi*, “for the family”; but this leaves the *ti* isolated. Mendenhall (110) connects *pa hi* to the following line (C 14), which is in fact on the reverse of the document, for the simple reason that if *pa* is “and” then it will be introducing a new sentence (cp. C 5, 8, 11); but the engraver has deliberately squeezed these two glyphs into the bottom corner of the plate, and yet there are only two lines of writing on the rear, with plenty of space; and the first sign, which is unclear, could be another *pa* (“and”); but Mendenhall (110) confidently takes it to be *wa* (this could likewise be “and”, though it would apparently be the only instance in this corpus of texts). Hence it seems that the scribe was trying to finish a sentence, or at least a word, at the end of the last line of the obverse side. On the other hand, the last two signs may be directing the reader’s attention to the reverse side, and they are then repeated as the first syllables of the new sentence.

li supaḥi, “for the family”; if this reading is valid, cp. Hbr. *mišpāḥāh* “family”, Ugr. *špḥ* “family” (Gordon 1966, 493, No. 2462); *ḥwt špḥ*, “the house (dynasty, realm) of the family” (Gordon 1966, 395, No. 850).

The back of the plate is deeply corroded, and some of the glyphs are partly or wholly illegible; Mendenhall’s readings for the two lines are:

C 14 *wa hi [du] [bi]hu ʿi ʿa ba hi mu zu* (space)

C 15 [] *ba hi ti [mi?*] 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

[Furthermore, life is granted him, I will honor who

... conscientiously. (Marks of 7 witnesses) (Mendenhall, 112)]

The word “life” in Mendenhall’s attempt at translation goes with his reading *pa+ hi-wa* (C 13-14), but the sign *hi* could here function as a logogram, as I have suggested for *ba-hi-ti* in C 2 above, and possibly also in C 15; the *ti* (a phonetic complement) would show the genitive case, after the preposition *ba*, but the example in C 13 and/or C 14 (see notes on C 13) would not need this explanatory sign, as it is presumably nominative case (**hiwatu*).

hi du: Mendenhall (111) relates this to Sabeian *hwd* “grant” (or “seek”) a favour or oracular response (Biella, 198).

bi hu’i: preposition with 3 sg. suffix, as in C 3, though Mendenhall understands it as fem. there but masc. here.

a ba hi mu: cp. C 5; Mendenhall (111) argues that it was stative there (“be numerous”), but here a D-stem (“I will honour”).

zu: “the one who”, presumably followed by a verb in the following line, but the first half-dozen letters are obliterated by corrosion; and for some reason the scribe chose to leave a very long space (one-third of the line) after *zu* (**zuru’u* “arm”, cp. notes on D 34b, Colless 1993).

mi?: this sign is partly obliterated; Mendenhall opts for *mi* (a horizontal bar atop a vertical stroke); or it could be *sa* (two horizontal bars on a vertical stem), and there is room for *sahidi* “witnesses”, as suggested in B 6 (notes on *hi*, Colless 1992, 67), where hooked vertical strokes representing witnesses are also found, as here. However, if these are signatures, then Dunand’s reading of this glyph merits consideration: he has a simple cross, and thus *tu*, “mark, signature”.

TEXT A (Stone Monument)

Description: Dunand, 71-73.

The stone is badly worn and broken off on the left side. The original length of the lines is uncertain; the break is diagonal for the first four lines, and vertical for the remaining six; only the tenth and last line is complete, apparently, because it ends before the broken edge. Consequently it is impossible to give a coherent translation.

Depiction: Dunand, 72 (drawing); Dunand, plate VIII (photograph).

Interpretation: Mendenhall, 113-119.

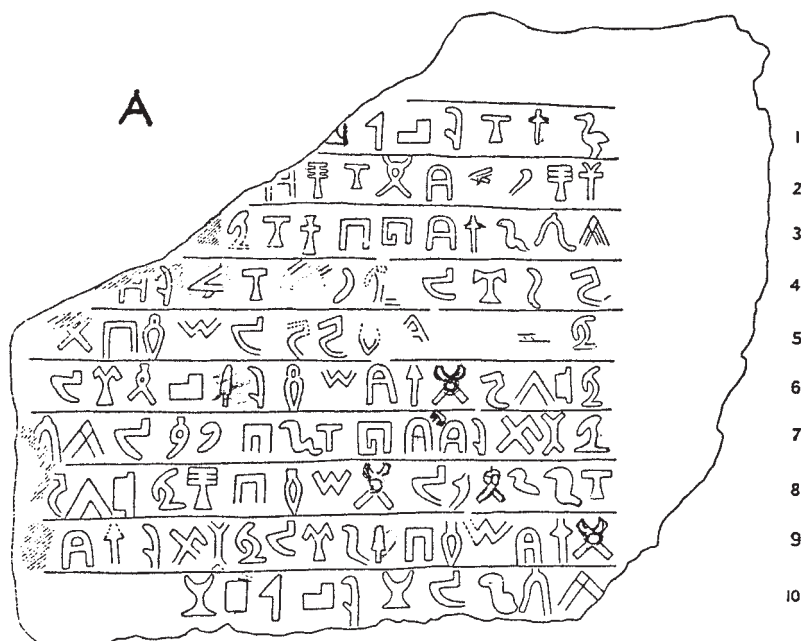
Dunand (119) and Mendenhall (113) surmise that this is a building inscription; my interpretation is based on the hypothesis that it is a taxation document.

The identified vocabulary seems to indicate that the document is a “claim” from King “Buhura-Bali” for “income” or “harvests”, stored in “granaries”, and also “fish”, the “contributions” being regarded as “rents”.

01. *ru tu mi bu hu ra ...*

02. *hi sa ni m ’a mi sa m ...*

03. *ka wa na tu m ha ta hi? mi pa ...*



04. *ti ru ya ma pa ni? ? mi?? m ...*
 05. *pa ... zi? du ti ti ma ša du ta 'a? ...*
 06. *pa da ga ti 'a tu m ša du ti?? hu 'i ya ma ..*
 07. *pa wi šu bu ta m 'u? ha mi na ta ru wu ma ka wa ..*
 08. *mi na ru 'i wu ma 'a ša du ta sa pa da ga ti ..*
 09. *'a tu m ša du ta za? ru ya ma pa wi šu bu tu m*
 10. *ka wa na ma li bu hu ra ba li*

A 1 *ru tu mi bu hu ra ...* "Claim from Buhura ..."

[*"Dedication of Buhura to ..."* (Mendenhall, 113)]

rutu: "claim"; cp. Old SArb. *rt* "claim" or "document stating a claim" (Biella, 483).

mi: "from", the preposition *mi(n)*, found in West and South (but not East) Semitic; Mendenhall (113) has it as "enclitic *-mi*". See also the note on *mi* in C 8 and also C 11.

Buhura: this would be the name of the King; Mendenhall (114) notes that it is attested in Old NArb. inscriptions, and that the root *bhr* "shine" is found in West Semitic; he adds that this name is semantically close to the royal name in text D, *Ḥuru-Ba'ilu* "Shining one of Ba'al", root *ḥwr* "be

white". We can perhaps go further: the full name of the monarch appears in the last line (A 10) as *Buhura-Bali* (not *Buhura-Dali*, as Mendenhall reads it); given that the consonant ʿayin only appears in this text in the dubious sign ʿu in line 7, *ba-li* could be a dialectal (or erroneous) form of *baʿili*; the names *Buhura-Bali* and *Ḥuru-Baʿilu* are so close that they may belong to the same person, or else to two members of the same dynasty.

A 2 *ḥi sa ni m ʿa mi sa m* ... "...of stores, of granaries ..."

ḥisanim: "store(s)", gen. sg. or oblique pl., root *ḥsn* "hold", "store"; Hbr. *ḥōsen* "wealth", "store"; Mendenhall (114) has *ḥisanitim* "benefactions" (Arb. *ḥasanatun*), but the sign he reads as *ti* is incomplete and should be disregarded; he notes Arb. "stored grain" as a possibility, and it supports my case for this and the next word.

ʿasamim: (corrected from *ʿa mi sa m* by reversing the positions of *mi* and *sa*) "granary", gen. sg., or "granaries", oblique pl.; Hbr. *ʿāsām*, Ugr. *aʿsm* "store", "granary"; the word is also found in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, on a stela labelling a stone enclosure as a granary, (Colless 1990, 28, text 21=368). Are the words in apposition, or in a construct chain? The final mimation on the first word would seem to obviate the construct idea, but not necessarily (cp. Ugr. construct nouns with *-m*, Gordon 1965, 104). In Akkadian the masc. pl. (as distinct from the fem. pl.) cannot have mimation; but this West Semitic dialect may follow different rules.

A 3 *ka wa na tu m ha ta? mi pa* ...

kawanatum: the recurring sequence of three signs which were pointed out by Dunand (116-117, 119-120), and which Mendenhall (13, 47, 97, 115) has deciphered as *ka-wa-na* (texts A and D), variant *ka-yi-na* (in text C), turns out to be the verb "be", root *kwn*, for which the best analogy is Old SArb. 3 p. m. sg. *kwn*, variant *kyn* (Biella, 242-244; cp. Arb. *kāna*, Phn. *kn*, Hbr. *kwn* nip. "be established", Ugr. *ykn*, *tkn*). The form here has mimation (final *-m*). Mendenhall parses it as either adverbial nominative, "perpetually" (comparing *kayinatum* in text C 2, 10), or else 2 p. pl. m. perfect tense, invoking the sequence *ʿa-tu-m* in lines 6 and 9 as the 2 m. pl. pronoun.

ha ta? mi: this is read by Mendenhall (115) as *ha-ta-tu-mi*, rationalized as *hatummi*, and understood as "a causative-reflexive verbal noun from the root *tmm* in the oblique plural case", agreeing with *ḥisanitim*, except for gender; but in my reading of line 2 there are two masculine nouns, and that problem is thereby removed; his translation is "Perpetually they have been brought to completion". In this regard, Old SArb. *tmm* has a substantive *tymm*, apparently used adverbially for "in perpetuity" (so Biella, 535).

The difficulty is the third sign in the sequence *ha ta? mi*: it is not clearly visible; it looks like a cross, hence *tu*, but unlike the other crosses in A (1, 3, 6, 9) it has a flared stem (similar to, and perhaps in this case simply influenced by, the next character, *mi*). If it were *hi* (though the example in line 2 has a straight stem) it would produce *tahimi* “boundaries” or “decrees” (a word found in text D, 5), and would go with the SArb. uses of *kwn* for “establishing” boundaries or “promulgating” decrees. If the alleged *tu* were *hi* (a person jubilating) we would have *tahimi*, possibly (but problematically) to be connected with Hbr. *təhōm* “the deep” (cp. *ya-ma* “the sea?”, in lines 6 and 9; and *da-ga-ti* “fish?”, in lines 6 and 8). Another suggestion is *yi* (though Mendenhall finds a different sign for this in line 8), creating *ta-yi-mi*, a sequence found three times in text F (Mendenhall, 129, 131), taken to be the personal name Taym (common in Arabic), but *tymm* “perpetuity” (see above) could also be invoked. The sign might even be *ti*.

But what is the preceding *ha*? Is it the precursor of the Hbr. and Phn. definite article? This whole sequence remains enigmatic.

pa: this sign is not fully discernible, and there are a few letters missing at the end of this line, but *pa* occurs frequently (in texts A, C, D) as a conjunction, meaning “and (so)” (Mendenhall, 41; 164-165, concordance), attested in Ugr., SArb., Class. Arb., and even Arm. texts. Surprisingly *wa* “and” (Ugr., Hbr., Phn., Arb., Arm.) does not seem to occur in the Gublaic inscriptions, but *ma* “and” is found (cp. Akd. enclitic *-ma* “and”), as perhaps in A 4, 5, 6, 10; and note *wu ma* in A 7 and 8 below, and C 7 above. The conjunction *pa-* is usually attached to a verb (see D 3, 7, 12, 23, 26), but (as in Ugaritic, see Segert 1984, 79) it can be joined to nouns also (see A 6, 7, 8, 9).

A 4 *ti ru ya ma ni? mi?? m ...*

Mendenhall (115-116) finds this line untranslatable. He rightly notes that the second character is a variant of the *ru* sign (for my explanation of this as being already found in the Egp. alternative hieroglyphs for vulture, see notes on *ru*, Colless 1992, 89-90); but here he wrongly transcribes it as *ri*.

Mendenhall suspects that the first seven signs denote something like “you see my face”. This seems apposite to my taxation interpretation: the Israelites were to appear before their God three times a year, and not come empty handed; and the way this is expressed is by the nip^{al} of *r’h* “see” with *pānīm* “face” (Exodus 23:15, *yērā’ū pānay*; 23:17, *yērā’eh ... ’el pāmē hā’ādōn*).

Alternatively, Mendenhall (116), speculatively mentions the root *rwu* “be high, exalt”. This too seems promising: Hbr. *hērīm tərūmāh* means “offer a contribution”, and there is possibly a word *taruwuma* in line 7 below.

Dunand's drawing has *mi-ri-bu-m* at the end of this line, but Mendenhall sees *mi?* 'u m, and if this were *mi-ri-'u-m* then we would be confronted with the word for a "fatling" (Ugr. *mri*', Hbr. *mərī*).

A 5 *pa ... zi? du ti ti ma ša du ta 'a? ...*

This is the most illegible line of all. Two examples of *du* (the oil jar, *dudu*) emerge from the gloom, similar to those in text G; Mendenhall (116) identifies this sign as *qa*, but I see it as a rounded variant of the triangular *du* of texts C and D.

šaduta: see also lines 8, 9, and possibly 6; this sequence is clear, and if it is not connected with Hbr. *šədōt* "fields" (Ugr., Phn., *šd* "field"), then it might well be Akd. *šaduttu* "income" (collection of debts, or produce of harvest), from the root *nadānu* "give" (von Soden, 1124), or else Akd. *šaddū'atu*, a commercial tax, root *nadū* III "throw" (von Soden, 1124). It would be the same as *šaduda* in D 33, which also appears in a harvesting context; and possibly even the *šaduda* of C 12.

A 6 *pa da ga ti 'a tu m ša du ti?? hu 'i ya ma ..*

pa: "and", see line 3 above.

dagati: "fish?"; Hbr. *dāgāh*, collective noun (cp. Ugr. *dg*, Hbr. *dāg*, pl. *dāgīm*); note Hbr. *dəgat hayyām* "the fish of the sea" (Gen 1:26), and cp. *ya-ma* ("sea?") later in this line. Mendenhall (117) takes *dagati* to be an infinitive absolute with the following word as its subject pronoun. See also line 8 for the same sequence *pa da ga ti*.

'atum: "you?", pronoun 2 m. pl. (so Mendenhall, 117); cp. Ugr. *a'tm*, Hbr. *'attem*, Arb. *'antum*. Or is it a verb, preformative 1 p. sg., root *tm* (cp. line 3 above), or else imperative of *'t* "come", "bring" (cp. D 2 below)?

šaduti?: "harvest?", see line 5 above. Mendenhall (117) has *šašibuni*, but his *ši* is doubly insecure (his flower sign is constructed from two deep scratches on either side of the *du*, and in any case such signs do not say *š* (see notes on *ki*, Colless 1992, 79); his *bu* is possible (see Dunand's drawing) but uncertain; his *ni* seems unlikely (compared with the examples in lines 2 and 4 above); the following *hu* is also doubtful, but he reads *hu'iya+ma* as 3 p. m. sg. pronoun, oblique case.

A 7 *pa wi šu bu ta m 'u? ha mi na ta ru wu ma ka wa ..*

pa wišubutam: "and rent", Akd. *waššābūtum* "rental" (von Soden, 1488, common Semitic root *wšb*, *wt-b*, *yšb*, "dwell"); the same word appears in line 9, there nominative case, here accusative case. Mendenhall (117) has *wit-ubum* "(your) dwelling", overlooking the *ta* added sideways above the

m, a “gateway” between the two “arches”; the first of these has a crossbar (hence *m*), the second apparently has not (hence ‘*u*).

‘*u ha mi na*: The ‘*u* is the only ‘*ayin* sign in text A, and it might be used here not as a syllable but as a logogram; it could be “10” followed by the amount of rent, in minas? (*mi-na*, but “mina” is consistently *man-* in Semitic languages); it could be “tithe” with *ha* as a fem. possessive pronoun referring to the preceding noun, hence “the rent, its tithe”, with *mina* as “from (cp. *mi-* in line 1 above)”.

ta ru wu ma ka wa: Mendenhall (117-118) has *ta na ’i ma ka* []; his assertion that there is no trace of *wa* on the photograph is incorrect; this *ka-wa-* looks like another word from the root *kwn* (cp. lines 3 and 10). His presumed *na* (snake), after *ta*, is unlike the one in the same line (before *ta*), or the clear instance in the next line (second sign), but is more like the alternative *ru* of line 4 (resembling a reversed S, see notes on *ru*, Colless 1992, 90). His ‘*i* seems to have only one line at the bottom, and following Dunand’s drawing I read *wu*. Can the resultant *taruwuma* be connected with Hbr. *tərūmāh* “contribution” (root *rwṁ* “be lofty”, causative “lift, raise”), and with the *tiruyama* of line 4 above?

The ideas “rent”, “tithe”, and “contribution” certainly hang together as a basis for understanding this line.

A 8 *mi na ru ’i wu ma ’a ša du ta sa pa da ga ti . .*

[*mi-na ru-’i-yi-ma ’u-ša-qa-ta+sa pa+da-ga-ti* (Mendenhall)]

Mendenhall (118) leaves this untranslated. The seemingly familiar sequences are: *mina* (line 7), *šaduta* (5, 9), *dagati* (6); the root *rwṁ* is possibly in evidence (cp. 7), and if the stray ‘*a* could be moved further along it would produce ‘*a-sa-pa* (root ‘*šp* “gather in”; cp. D 32 below). The possibility should be mentioned that ‘*a* could be a logogram for ‘*alpu*, “ox” or “oxen”.

wu ma: see notes on *pa* in line 3 above.

A 9 ‘*a tu m ša du ta za? ru ya ma pa wi šu bu tu m*

Again we find a collection of familiar but uncertain sequences: ‘*atum* (line 6), *šaduta* (5, 8), *yama* (6), *wišubutum* (7). My *za? ru* differs from the *ni ri* of Mendenhall (119); the second sign is rather the alternative *ru* (reversed *s*, a vulture’s head and neck) than *ri* (leg), and the first sign, which looks like a blade or a tree, is straight up and down, and cannot be *ni* (an elephant tusk), but it might be a tail (*za*); the word *zari* could mean, on Hbr. analogies: “strange, illicit”, “scatter, winnow”, or “seed” (Hbr. *zera’*) if it is true that the scribe of text A ignores ‘*ayin* (cp. line 10, *bali* for *ba’li*).

Does it all add up to “bring the income, the seed of the sea, and the rent(s) ...”?

A 10 *ka wa na ma li bu hu ra ba li*

“... be for Buhura-Ba’li.”

kawana: see notes on A 3 above.

li: “to” or “for” (cp. *la* in D 2).

Buhura-Bali: see notes to line 1 above. Mendenhall (119) has Dali for Bali, in line with Dunand’s drawing; but the sign is a simple rectangle (without a door jamb, unlike *da* in lines 6 and 8, and as, apparently, in the fragmentary text G, lines 2, 3, 4; Mendenhall (120); Dunand, 81, fig. 32; Colless 1992, 62), representing a house, the only extant instance of *ba* in text A.

ABBREVIATIONS

Akd. = Akkadian Arb. = Arabic Arm. = Aramaic Egp. = Egyptian
Hbr. = Hebrew Phn. = Phoenician Syr. = Syriac Ugr. = Ugaritic

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JERUSALEM AND ITS PARALLELS FIVE CITIES PAIRED WITH JERUSALEM IN THE BIBLE

BY

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Jerusalem is unique among the cities mentioned in the Bible. However, it is not always presented by itself. Sometimes it is mentioned along with another city of either equal or inferior stature in the particular context. In contrast with word pairs within verses that have merited considerable attention in research¹, city pairs have not been studied extensively². In a single paper we cannot include all the cities paired with Jerusalem in the Bible. We will limit ourselves to a discussion of five cities each of which is mentioned together with Jerusalem in different Biblical contexts, tracing the varied usage of these city pairs. We will present the cities paired with Jerusalem in the following order: the first is *Sodom*, which is highlighted in the Biblical description of Abraham's period; *Shiloh*, the religious centre in the days of Joshua and the Judges; *Gibeon*, which became important after the destruction of Shiloh (and Nob), and which was apparently associated with Saul; *Hebron*, which assumed great political importance in David's time (also mentioned frequently in narratives about the Patriarchs, but without connection with Jerusalem); and finally *Samaria*, the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel since the days of Omri.

A. *Sodom - Jerusalem*

At the core of the narrative about the meeting between the king of Sodom and Abram, after the latter had conquered the great kings, two verses appear that relate to the encounter between Abram and Melchizedek, king of Salem³

¹ See Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Semitic Literatures* (AOAT, 210; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Berker, Kevelaer and Neukirchener Verlag, 1984). For a review of the literature, see pp. 6-47.

² Noteworthy in this respect is Professor Samuel Abramsky, who has commented on pairing of different cities with Jerusalem in several of his studies (see below, n. 6 and n. 13).

³ The word **שֶׁלֶם** is generally viewed as a poetic term for Jerusalem. Support for this is found in Ps. 76:3 [EVV: 2]: 'In Salem also is set His tabernacle, and His dwelling-place in Zion'. For other views, see S. Abramsky, "Melchizedek King of Salem (Literary Embroidery and Historical Curtain)", *Oz Le-David [Ben Gurion volume]* (Publications of the Society for Biblical Research, 15; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1964), p. 146 n. 14 (Hebrew).

(Gen. 14:18-19). This interposition within the description of Abram's meeting with the king of Sodom invites the reader to compare the king of Salem with the king of Sodom and to examine the contrast between them. This contrast is further emphasized by repetition of the root יצ"א ('the king of Sodom went out [ויצא] ...' vs. 'And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth [הוציא] bread and wine'). The king of Salem, who had not benefited from the victory, goes forth to Abram, blessing him and serving him bread and wine, whereas the king of Sodom, whose men and property Abram had delivered from captivity, does not offer food to the warriors who return exhausted from battle. His first words are, 'Give me the persons' (and then adds, 'and take the goods to thyself')⁴. The kings of these cities are contrasted in this story even by their names:

מלכי־צדק, king of Salem as opposed to ברע, king of Sodom, the accomplice of ברשע, king of Gomorrah (v. 2). This contrast appears to be between the two individuals, but given the multiple repetitions of the title 'king of Sodom' as well as the symbolic significance concealed in the names of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, it seems that Sodom, rather than any particular king, is the real point. The contrast is actually between two cities⁵: Sodom as opposed to Salem, i.e., Jerusalem⁶.

The character of Sodom, alluded to in this story by the king's name, is depicted in the previous chapter: 'Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the Lord exceedingly' (Gen. 13:13). Even before the fate of Sodom is sealed, God declares, 'The outrage of Sodom and Gomorrah is so great, and their sin so grave!' (18:20). Abram, to whom God reveals His plan to destroy Sodom, who is characterized by the verse, 'that he may instruct his children and his posterity to keep the way of the Lord by doing

⁴ See R. Hayyim ben Atar, *Or Habayim* on Gen. 14:18; Nehama Leibowitz, *Studies in Bereshit (Genesis)* (trans. A. Newman; 4th edn., Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization – Department for Torah Education and Culture, 1981), pp. 131-32. See also D. Elgavish, "Abram and Melchizedek King of Salem", *Mahkerei Hag* 4 (1992), pp. 9-11 (Hebrew). The disrespectful behaviour of the king of Sodom according to the Biblical story may be demonstrated by comparing it with the description of an encounter in Jubilees 13:28, according to which the king of Sodom bows down to Abram and addresses him by the title 'Our Lord'.

⁵ Regarding location as 'hero' in the Biblical story, see Y. Amit, "The Function of Topographical Indications in the Biblical Story", *Shnaton – Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 9 (1985), pp. 25-27 (Hebrew).

⁶ Abramsky, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 164, 147-48. It is noteworthy that U.M.D. Cassuto ("ברית בין הבתרים", *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, II [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1954], col. 353) (Hebrew) finds another allusion to Jerusalem in Genesis 15, whose subject is the Covenant between the Pieces: 'The last in the series of nations living in Israel mentioned here is the Jebusite, possessor of Jerusalem, whose conquest would be the crowning achievement of conquering the Land'.

what is just and right' (v. 19), expresses by his actions the opposite of the way of Sodom: doing justice and righteousness as contrasted with sin and outrage. The contrasts presented here allude to the parallel between Abraham and Jerusalem (which exists in a positive sense as well, through their mutual commitment to justice and righteousness).

The other narrative in Genesis that alludes to Jerusalem is the story of the binding of Isaac (Gen. 22)⁷. As Abraham draws near to the mountain designated for carrying out the sacrifice, it is said of him, 'Abraham *looked up and saw* the place from afar' (v. 4)⁸, and then he parts from his servants to ascend with his only son toward the awesome encounter with the Divine. The very opposite may be seen in the story of Lot, who departs from Abram and chooses to descend to settle in Sodom, noting its material abundance. The same formula appears here as well: 'Lot *looked up and saw* how well watered was the whole plain of Jordan, all of it – this was before the Lord had destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah...' (Gen. 13:10).

Sodom's inferiority vis-à-vis Jerusalem (even when inhabited by gentiles) is alluded to in a different way in the story of the concubine in Gibeah. The Levite does not wish to lodge in Jebusite Jerusalem, since it was a 'town of aliens, who are not of Israel' (Judg. 19:12), preferring to lodge in the Israelite Gibeah of Benjamin. But what takes place there is clearly reminiscent of Sodom, casting an ironic light on the Levite's preference⁹.

Comparison of Jerusalem with Sodom also occurs in prophetic literature. When the prophet Isaiah describes the great miracle of Jerusalem's deliverance (probably referring to the siege of Sennacherib), he asserts that by God's mercy its destiny had not become that of Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. 1:9)¹⁰. In the following verse, which introduces a new section of prophecy, this pair of cities is used again, but this time it refers to the gravity of sin: 'Hear the word of the Lord, you chieftains of Sodom; Give ear to our God's instruction, you folk of Gomorrah!' (v. 10). This double

⁷ The Binding was to be done on 'one of the mountains' in 'the land of Moriah' (v. 2), and 2 Chron. 3:1 explains that the location of the Temple is 'on Mount Moriah'.

⁸ This is the first occurrence in the story of the frequently repeated verb *ראה*. According to Cassuto ("Jerusalem in the Pentateuch" [1951], *Biblical and Oriental Studies – Selected Writings*, I: *Biblical Studies* [trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973], pp. 75-76), it is the midrashic interpretation of 'Moriah'.

⁹ Cf. U Simon, "Minor Characters in Biblical Narrative", *JSOT* 46 (1990), p. 16.

¹⁰ An earlier reference to Sodom may be discovered in v. 7: 'A wasteland as overthrown by strangers'. In light of the appearance of 'Sodom' in all other phrases where the word *מֵהִפְכָּת* ('overthrown') serves as the construct state noun (Deut. 29:22; Isa. 13:19; Jer. 49:18; 50:40; Amos 4:11), the term 'strangers' may also be understood as referring to Sodom, whether based on commentary (R. Judah ibn Bal'am and Radak) or through emendation (proposed by Ewald).

use of comparison with Sodom sharpens the ingratitude of which the people of Judah and Jerusalem stand accused. The often repeated references in this prophecy concerning Jerusalem as a former city of righteousness (vv. 21, 26)¹¹ may also be intended as a contrast with Sodom as a symbol of evil and injustice. In another prophecy the prophet cries out against Judah and Jerusalem: 'They avow their sins like Sodom, they do not conceal them' (Isa. 3:9), i.e., sin has been publicly legitimated. Two additional pairings of these cities by the prophets are discussed below¹².

B. *Shiloh - Jerusalem*¹³

At the end of an historical review in Ps. 78, Shiloh and Jerusalem are contrasted:

- | | |
|--|---|
| A And He greatly abhorred Israel
(v. 59b) | But chose the tribe of Judah (v. 68a) |
| B And he forsook the tabernacle of
Shiloh, the tent He made to dwell
among men (v. 60) | The mount Zion which He loves
(v. 68b) |
| C And He abhorred the tent of Joseph,
and chose not the tribe of Ephraim
(v. 67) | He chose David for his servant (v. 70a) |

This contrast, which is sharply expressed by the successive declarations: 'And chose not the tribe of Ephraim. But chose the tribe of Judah' (vv. 67b-68a)¹⁴, is strengthened by the structural parallel. At the end of each of the two sections a verb is employed that expresses the choice (or rejection) of a *tribe* or *person* (He abhorred :: He chose)¹⁵, while in between we find

¹¹ Regarding the connection between Jerusalem's righteous character and its status as a holy city (including comparison with extra-Biblical sources), see M. Weinfeld, *Justice and Righteousness in Israel and the Nations* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985), pp. 57-60 (Hebrew).

¹² The references appear in Jer. 23:13-14 and Ezek. 16:46-61. Samaria is also mentioned in both places; see Section E, 'Samaria-Jerusalem'. Of further note is the verse from Lamentations, 'For the iniquity of the daughter of my people is greater than the sin of Sodom' (Lam. 4:6). Also mentioned side by side in this context are 'the daughter of my people' (vv. 3, 6, 10) and Zion-Jerusalem (vv. 2, 11, 12).

¹³ For a comprehensive discussion of this city pair see S. Abramsky, "The Connection between Shiloh and Jerusalem – Echoes of Events and Historiosophy" in *Ben Zion Luria Volume* (Publications of the Society for Biblical Research; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1979) pp. 335-55 (Hebrew).

¹⁴ On the contrast between the two verses, see R.P. Carroll, "Psalm LXXVIII: Vestiges of a Tribal Polemic", *VT* 21 (1971), p. 136.

¹⁵ We interpret 'the tent of Joseph' = 'tribe(s) of Joseph'. Similarly, see for example E.G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (ICC; Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb, 1907 [1951]), p. 191. This differs from the interpretation of the phrase as referring to the tabernacle; see E.J. Kissane, *The Book of Psalms* II (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1954 [1964]), p. 362.

reference to the choice (or rejection) of *place*, contrasting 'the tabernacle of Shiloh' with 'mount Zion'. According to this psalm the contrast is not exhausted on the level of holy cities, but rather the tribes concerned are also included (Ephraim, Judah). The psalm finally focuses on a single man – David – rather than on a tribe, concluding at this climatic point (vv. 70-72).

In Jeremiah's well known address at the Temple gates, he threatens that the fate of the Temple in Jerusalem will be like the fate of the Tabernacle in Shiloh: 'Just go to My place at Shiloh, where I established My name formerly ... therefore I will do to the House which bears my name ... and to the place which I gave you and your fathers just what I did to Shiloh' (Jer. 7:12-14)¹⁶. The consonant *shin* is conspicuous in the text, appearing in seven consecutive words (אֲשֶׁר בְּאִילֹה אֲשֶׁר שְׁכַנְתִּי שְׁמִי שָׁם בְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה). Perhaps also implicit in his words is an allusion to the similarity in sound of the two cities' names – Shiloh (אִילֹה) and Jerusalem (יְרוּשָׁלַם). In this prophecy, then, the pairing of cities serves the opposite purpose of that in the psalm: instead of emphasizing Jerusalem's superiority over Shiloh, it augurs a similar future. Thus Jeremiah takes issue with the idea of the unconditional eternity of Jerusalem and its Temple, an approach that also emerges in Ps. 78:69: 'And He built His sanctuary like the heights, like the earth which He has founded forever'. In Jeremiah's address, as in Ps. 78, the Temple (rather than the city itself) is the basis of the parallelism. As in the psalm, v. 15 adds a parallel between the appropriate tribes to the parallel of place (as stated in v. 2, the prophet's audience, which is compared to 'your brothers... the whole brood of Ephraim', is 'all of Judah'). Zalevski¹⁷ has recently shown that the expression 'this place' in the prophecy here refers to the country, not to Jerusalem or the Temple. Accordingly, the prophet makes a parallel between the fate of the kingdom of Judah ('to the place I gave you and your fathers') and the fate of the sanctuary in Shiloh ('My place at Shiloh'). It seems to us that this asymmetrical parallelism draws upon the literary tradition of pairing two cities, but the prophet enlarges the scope of comparison from Jerusalem to the entire country.

In a similar prophecy in ch. 26 Jeremiah also threatens that the Temple in Jerusalem will be destroyed, just as Shiloh was destroyed. Here the parallelism seems asymmetrical from the other direction. The prophet men-

¹⁶ For a reversal of the connection between this prophecy of Jeremiah and Ps. 78, see S. Zalevski, "Jeremiah's Oration at the Gate of the House of the Lord (Jer. 7.1-15)", *Bar-Ilan* 16-17 (1979), pp. 29-30 (Hebrew).

¹⁷ S. Zalevski, "On the meaning of 'in this place' (Jer. 7:1-15)", in Y. Zakovitch and A. Rofe (eds.), *Isaac Aryeh Zeligman Volume I* (Jerusalem: Rubinstein, 1983), pp. 235-245 (Hebrew).

tions Shiloh, not the sanctuary in it, making the destiny of Shiloh parallel with the future of the Temple: 'then I will make this House like Shiloh' (v. 6). That is also stressed when his prophecy is first repeated back to him: 'Why have you prophesied ... that this House shall become like Shiloh' (v. 9). Moreover, the city (Jerusalem) is mentioned immediately, but in the framework of a compound sentence following a comparison of Shiloh to the Temple. However, the second time his prophecy is repeated back to him, while being judged by the officers and the people, his prophecy is summarized as particularly threatening the city (without reference to the Temple): 'for he has prophesied against this city as you yourselves have heard' (v. 11). In his response Jeremiah mentions both: 'It was the Lord who sent me to prophesy against this House and this city' (v. 12).

Ahijah, who is presented in the text as 'Ahijah of Shiloh', prophesies at the end of Solomon's kingdom (1 Kgs 11:29; 12:15)¹⁸ that Solomon's son will forfeit his rule over the tribes of Israel, and in his place Jeroboam the Ephraimite will arise to reign. His prophecy augurs a decline in the status of Jerusalem, since it would no longer be the capital of the united kingdom, but just the capital of the kingdom of Judah (even the statements scattered throughout the prophecy concerning the choosing of Jerusalem are insufficient to counteract this blow). Jerusalem is also mentioned at the beginning of the story of events accompanying the prophecy, where it is juxtaposed to a reference to Shiloh: 'Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem and the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh met him on the way' (v. 29). It may also be that Jacob's blessing to Judah, 'The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet; until he comes to Shiloh, and the homage of peoples be his' (Gen. 49:10), alludes to this event of the loss of Davidic rule over all Israel¹⁹.

It seems that the activity of the prophet from Shiloh in the last days of Solomon is presented in contrast with what happened to Abiathar, the priest from Shiloh, who at the beginning of Solomon's period was deposed

¹⁸ Shiloh as a factor in the rebellion of Jeroboam has been especially emphasized by A. Caquot, "Ahiyya de Silo et Jeroboam I^{er}", *Semitica* 11 (1961), pp. 17-27; M.A. Cohen, "The Role of the Shilonite Priesthood in the United Monarchy of Ancient Israel", *HUCA* 36 (1965), pp. 91-93; and cf. A. Burstein, *Beit Mikra* 6 (1961), especially p. 19 (Hebrew).

¹⁹ Rashbam and Hizkuni have long ago explained it thus. Another interpretation, also connected with our subject, is offered there by R. Joseph Bekhor Shor (also mentioned in the commentary of Ibn Ezra). Scripture alludes to the ascendancy of Judah after the fall of Shiloh ('until Shiloh descends' implying the decline of Shiloh) in accordance with Ps. 78: 'until Shiloh descends you will be a guard and ruler, but once Shiloh has declined you will be king, for once the day of Shiloh arrived to be destroyed, then the kingdom of the House of David flourished, as recorded in the Book of Psalms...'.

and expelled from Jerusalem to Anathoth. The text provides a long-term religious explanation for this: 'thus fulfilling what the Lord had spoken at Shiloh regarding the house of Eli' (1 Kgs 2:27). A similar explanation is provided for the loss of rule by Solomon's son: 'in order to fulfill the promise which the Lord had made through Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam son of Nebat' (1 Kgs 12:15).

A further parallel between Jerusalem and Shiloh is created by means of their symmetrical placement within an entire Biblical book. Thus according to Abramsky there is a parallel between Shiloh and Jerusalem in the overall structure of the Book of Samuel: 'It begins with a description of the Tabernacle at Shiloh... but Shiloh is then abandoned, the Ark is taken and subsequently, in an almost paradoxical way, the kingdom of Israel is established. When the author-editor comes to end his book, he arranges to conclude with the story about the threshing floor of Araunah, which was the beginning of building the Temple in Jerusalem, city of the Davidic kingdom... this is fitting for a book whose primary aim... is establishment of the kingdom and its affirmation... through the process of its realization in the kingdom of the house of David'²⁰. According to this, the entire book presents the change in identity of the holy city – Jerusalem instead of Shiloh, which parallels the change in political leadership – King David and his house in place of Eli the priest and his family.

C. Gibeon - Jerusalem

The story of Solomon's vision in Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:4-15) is set in a geographical frame²¹: it opens with Solomon going to the great shrine in Gibeon (v. 4), and concludes with Solomon's ascent to Jerusalem, his standing before the Ark of the Covenant, and making a banquet for all his servants (v. 15b). By virtue of this framework a parallel is created between Gibeon and Jerusalem. In contradistinction to his brother Absalom's attitude, who claims to be going to Hebron in order to thank the Lord for being

²⁰ S. Abramsky, *The Kingdom of Saul and the Kingdom of David – the Beginning of Monarchy in Israel and its Influence on Later Generations* (Jerusalem: Shikmona, 1977), p. 212 (Hebrew). Y. Kiel (*The Book of Samuel*, II: 2 *Samuel* [Da'at Mikrah; Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1981], p. 566 [Hebrew]) also points out the parallel created between the story's conclusion, 'and the plague against Israel was checked' (2 Sam. 24:25) and 'the people also suffered a great slaughter' (1 Sam. 4:17) at the book's outset.

²¹ See Helen A. Kenik, *Design for Kingship – The Deuteronomistic Narrative Technique in 1 Kings 3:4-15* (SBLDS, 69; Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1983), pp. 41-43, 176. According to her (*ibid.*, p. 192) the framework alludes to a contrast between two periods: the time when (sacrificial) slaughter was permitted at the shrines, and when such slaughter was forbidden at the shrines after the Temple was built in Jerusalem.

privileged to return to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 15:8; see Section D below), Solomon thanks the Lord in Jerusalem for what was promised him in Gibeon (his going to Gibeon to offer a sacrifice is explained by the narrator in v. 4: 'for that was the largest shrine')²². Garsiel²³ discovered a pun upon names in the closing verse (v. 15) (שלמה - ירושלם - שלמים), whose literary function he says is to 'restore to Jerusalem the importance which has briefly been impaired by the events at Gibeon'. The Gibeon - Jerusalem circle in the account of Solomon's kingdom is closed by the ceremony for dedication of the Temple (1 Kgs 8). Henceforth, worship of God in the shrines would be prohibited (as stated in the context of the story of the vision in Gibeon – 1 Kgs 3:2). A connecting element for comparison between the two stories may be found in the words of the narrator, who notes immediately upon conclusion of the Temple dedication ceremony in Jerusalem: 'the Lord appeared to Solomon a second time, as He had appeared to him at Gibeon' (9:2)²⁴.

Two other stories placed at the end of Samuel are also likely to suggest a parallel between the two cities. We refer to the story about David placating the Gibeonites (2 Sam. 21:1-14) and the story about building an altar on the threshing floor of Araunah (2 Sam. 24). Both stories deal with Divine punishment inflicted on the people for the king's sin (in the first story – Saul, and the in second – David), and with its removal on account of David's deeds. The similar conclusion of both stories should also be noted: 'God/the Lord responded to the plea of the land' (21:14; 24:25)²⁵. Nevertheless, we should not overlook the contrast: the reason for punishment in the first story was Saul's harsh treatment of the Gibeonites while violating an earlier oath made to them (21:1). However, in the story about Jerusalem the friendly relations between David and Araunah the Jebusite are so pronounced that the latter wishes to provide David with his threshing floor

²² In the parallel passage in 2 Chron. 1:3-5 a different explanation is given; see the detailed discussion by S. Zalevski, *Solomon's Ascension to the Throne: Studies in the Books of Kings and Chronicles* (Jerusalem: Marcus, 1981), pp. 339-50 (Hebrew).

²³ M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1991), p. 205.

²⁴ According to R.A. Carlson in *David, the Chosen King* (trans. E.J. Sharpe & S. Rudman; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964), p. 220, the excess number of sacrifices in the account of the Temple's dedication (1 Kgs 8:63) as compared to what Solomon sacrificed after his dream in Gibeon (3:15) reflects Jerusalem's superiority over Gibeon. Cf. P.J. Kearney, "The Role of the Gibeonites in the Deuteronomistic History", *CBQ* 35 (1973), p. 13.

²⁵ Regarding the common elements, see also Kiel, *The Book of Samuel*, p. 564 (Hebrew). Scholars who find a basis here for contrasting Gibeon with Jerusalem rely primarily on emending the text in v. 6 to read 'בגבעון' instead of 'בגבעת שאול' (see for example Carlson, *David*, p. 218 and n. 2). However, we suggest viewing the crux of the conflict in terms of difference in treatment of the surviving gentile populations in the two cities.

gratis, whereas David is determined to pay for it. The 'leading word' נָתַן highlights this contrast: the Gibeonites demand that 'seven of his male issue be handed over to us' (יָתַן:Q, יָנִיחַ), and David assents: 'I will deliver (אֶתֵּן) them' (21:6). Indeed, 'he handed them over (וַיִּתְּנֵם) to the Gibeonites' (21:9). It is in the tranquillity of the second story that the words 'all this Araunah gives (נָתַן)' (24:23) emphasize the lack of consent, as David rejects the gratuitous offer and declares: 'No, but I will surely buy it' etc., which is just what he does: 'So David bought' (24:24).

The pairing of Jerusalem and Gibeon against the background of how the Gibeonites were treated is already found in the Book of Joshua. One it was discovered that the covenant made with the Gibeonites was based on deceit, they are left alive in order not to violate the oath to protect them, but they become cultic servants. The story concludes with a comment by the narrator that jumps ahead in terms of the story's time frame: '... in the place that He would choose' (Josh. 9:27), which certainly refers to Jerusalem. An adjacent context (ch. 10) even reports a military confrontation occurring between Gibeon and Jerusalem, in which the kings of the southern alliance, led by the king of Jerusalem, go forth to war against Gibeon on account of its treaty with the Israelites²⁶.

D. *Hebron - Jerusalem*

The change in David's status from the tribal leader of Judah to the leader of all Israel is reviewed in the variegated literary unit in 2 Sam. 5. The first section of this unit²⁷ deals with the choice of David as king over all Israel. The city of Hebron, to which the elders of Israel come to talk with David and make him king, occupies an important place. The city is mentioned three times in vv. 1-3:

1. All the tribes of Israel came to David *at Hebron* (1a)
2. All the elders of Israel came to the king *at Hebron* (3a)
3. King David made a pact with them in Hebron before the Lord (3b)

²⁶ On the pairing of Jerusalem with Gibeon in the Bible, note also: a) the closing phrase, 'these dwelt in Jerusalem' (1 Chron. 8:28 = 9:34), followed by the opening phrase, 'And in Gibeon there dwelt' (ibid., 8:29 = 9:35); b) the parenthetic reference to the tabernacle at Gibeon in the account about acquiring the threshing floor of Araunah (1 Chron. 21:29-30), with the shared use of the term 'altar of burnt offering' for both sites (vv. 26, 29; 22:1). (For integration of this passage in its full context, see Sarah Japhet, *Beliefs and Ideas in the Book of Chronicles and their Place in the World of Biblical Thought* [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1977], p. 125 [Hebrew].)

²⁷ We view vv. 1-5 as the first section, with vv. 1-3 as the nucleus and vv. 4-5 as a kind of addendum. Others view vv. 4-5 as an independent passage.

The second reference appears to be redundant. Since v. 3a is parallel to v. 1a, there is certainly no need for a repeated reference to the place where David is located. The third reference to Hebron is even more conspicuous, since it is a direct continuation of the second (in the same verse). It is precisely the lack of need for information in these references to Hebron that gives them greater impact.

The story's next section (vv. 6-10) deals with the conquest of Jerusalem by David and his men, followed by a section concerning building a house for David (vv. 11-12) and a section presenting a list of his children born in Jerusalem (vv. 13-15). Jerusalem is mentioned explicitly not only at the beginning of the second section: 'The king and his men set out for Jerusalem against the Jebusites who inhabited the region' (v. 6), but also in the fourth section, as an introduction to the list of children: 'These are the names of the children born to him in Jerusalem' (v. 14). It appears that Jerusalem was not just a chance setting for these events, but is part of the theme itself – David reigning in Jerusalem over all of Israel.

The parallel between Jerusalem and Hebron is not only suggested by the order of sections within this unit, but is also demonstrated by their being referred to together twice in the same verse: a) in the chronology of David's reign in Hebron and Jerusalem (v. 5), where a parallel is drawn between the years of David's reign in the two capitals, while distinguishing between the extent of his rule: '*In Hebron* he reigned over Judah seven years and six months, and *in Jerusalem* he reigned over all Israel and Judah thirty-three years'; b) in v. 13, which introduces the section about David's children: 'After he left *Hebron*, David took more concubines and wives in *Jerusalem*'.

The list of David's children in this unit, which is a list of those born in Jerusalem, parallels a previous list appearing in 2 Sam. 3: 2-5, which lists those born in Hebron. The earlier list's connection with Hebron is stressed both by the opening phrase ('Sons were born to David in Hebron' [v. 2]) as well as in the closing phrase ('These were born to David in Hebron' [v. 5]). As will be recalled, even the name of the second city is mentioned at the beginning of the later passage: 'After he left Hebron, David took more concubines and wives in Jerusalem' (5:13)²⁸.

²⁸ According to Abramsky ("The Davidic Family in Jerusalem – an Allusion to the Royal Heir [13-16]", in S. Abramsky and M. Garsiel (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the World of the Bible: 2 Samuel* [Jerusalem-Ramat-Gan: Revivim, 1989], p. 53 [Hebrew], this is a literary and ideological parallel whose purpose is to suggest that 'it is as if the place also creates the heir: not Hebron, that has ceased to be a royal city, but the city of David, that was designated to have established in it the royal house of the son of Jesse'. For an expanded discussion, see his article, "A Work of Art and Historiography in the Story of David's Kingdom (2 Sam. 5)", *Beit Mikra* 22 (1977), particularly pp. 459-461 (Hebrew).

At the beginning of the account of Absalom's rebellion, a conflict appears between Jerusalem and Hebron. As a pretext for going to Hebron where he plans to declare himself king, Absalom tells his father: 'For your servant made a vow when I lived in Geshur of Aram: If the Lord ever brings me back to Jerusalem, I will worship the Lord' (2 Sam. 15:8). Although his wish is to return to Jerusalem, Absalom actually fulfills his vow in Hebron. Was this not a blow to the status of Jerusalem? By contrast, as the plot continues, David's decision to increase the importance of Jerusalem is described – David rejects the suggestion that he carry the Ark along with him when he flees Jerusalem. He instructs Zadok and Abiathar to return the Ark to the city. This emphasized that Jerusalem remained the Holy City even when the king was compelled to abandon it.

In Hebron the plans were to make Absalom, his father's rebellious son, king. Why did Absalom choose Hebron for this purpose? Radak (R. David Kimhi), in his commentary on 2 Sam. 15:7 replies: 'He chose the place where his father had been established as king'. In other words, the rebellious son took pains regarding the legitimacy of his kingdom, among other things by emulating his father's coronation²⁹. But aside from the similarity of establishing the kingship in Hebron and involving all 'the tribes of Israel' in both ceremonies (2 Sam. 5:1; 15:10), it quickly becomes clear how great a difference there is between the father, to whom the people come to offer the royal crown in the absence of another king, and the son who initiates his own coronation and wishes to remove the crown from his father.

As in 2 Sam. 5:1-3, Hebron is also mentioned three times in the present context (2 Sam. 15:7, 9, 10). Perhaps we can also see in this context some sophisticated word-play that interprets the name Hebron by transposing letters in different forms, from the viewpoint of David's camp. Since David fears that Absalom will 'put the city to the sword' (חרב) (v. 14), he instructs his men, 'Arise and let us flee (ונברחה)' (ibid.), to which they respond: 'Whatever our lord the king decides' (יבחר) (v. 15). The three words represent Absalom's expected action, David's reaction and his servants reaction to his proposal. This demonstrates the extreme contrast between the complete loyalty of David's men (including Ittai the Gittite, whom David defines in v. 19 as a foreigner and exile) and his son's initiative to depose and kill him.

²⁹ Aside from the consideration of attaining support from the tribe of Judah; see M. Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David: Studies in History and Inquiries in Historiography* (Tel Aviv: Don & the Israeli Society for Biblical Research, 1975), pp. 133-37 (Hebrew).

Conroy³⁰ has shown us that in the description of David's flight, Jerusalem is referred to repeatedly, both by citation of its name (15:14, 29, 37; 16:3) and its appellation 'the city' (15:14, 24, 25, 27, 34, 37), and even by additional means (such as the adverb 'there'). In Conroy's words, 'During the account of David's flight the city of Jerusalem is mentioned so often that one could almost take it as the focus of the narrator's interest'. In contrast with the highlighting of Hebron with regard to Absalom, David's connection with Jerusalem is emphasized. It seems that this conflict holds no implications regarding the cities themselves, but that it furthers the contrast between Absalom, a native of Hebron, and David, the Jerusalemite.

Some are of the opinion³¹ that the parallel between descriptions of acquiring the threshing floor of Araunah (2 Sam. 24:18-25) and purchasing the cave of Machpelah in Hebron (Gen. 23) was intended to draw a comparison between the two cities and present the similarity between Jerusalem and Hebron, thereby equating ancient glory to its sanctification in the days of David. This similarity is even more noticeable in the parallel recension of the story about acquiring the threshing floor in 1 Chron. 21³².

In all these instances the historical background that served as a basis for the parallel must be noted – the fact that both cities were political centres and holy cities³³.

Unconnected with the foregoing, we already find Jerusalem and Hebron side by side in a single verse in the list of the 31 Kings defeated by Joshua (Josh. 12:10). This juxtaposition is evidently based upon the order in which the cities in the alliance of the five southern kings were enumerated (mentioned in Josh. 10).

E. *Samaria - Jerusalem*

The juxtaposition of Jerusalem and Samaria is based on the background of their political status as the two capitals of the divided kingdoms. (For those who adopt Alt's thesis regarding their special status, the similarity is even greater). The two cities are interestingly combined by the king of

³⁰ C. Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom! – Narrative and Language in 2 Sam. 13-20* (Analecta Biblica, 81; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), pp. 97-98.

³¹ See Abramsky, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), p. 163 and n. 108 (Hebrew).

³² Cf. Y. Zakovitch, "The Biblical Tradition about the Inception of Jerusalem's Sanctification", in D. Amit and R. Gonen (eds.), *Jerusalem in First Temple Days* (Idan, 15; Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak ben Zvi, 1991), p. 15 (Hebrew).

³³ On the sanctity of Hebron, see B. Mazar, "Kiryat Arba is Hebron", *Cities and Districts in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and the Society for the Study of Eretz-Israel and its Antiquities, 1975), pp. 63-64 (Hebrew).

Assyria, who boasts of his achievements and, based on his calculations, is certain that he will succeed in capturing Jerusalem: 'Shall I not do to Jerusalem and her images what I did to Samaria and her idols?' (Isa. 10:11). In his statement transmitted in the previous verse, Samaria and Jerusalem are presented jointly as inferior to the other capital cities he has captured; 'As I was able to seize the insignificant kingdoms whose images exceeded Jerusalem's and Samaria's' (v. 10). These words are reminiscent of Rabshakeh, the emissary of Sennacherib king of Assyria, who calls to the besieged people of Jerusalem: 'Did any of the gods of other nations save his land from the king of Assyria? Where were the gods of Hamath and Arpad... did they save Samaria from me? Which among all the gods of those countries saved their countries from me, that the Lord should save Jerusalem from me?' (2 Kgs 18:33-35)³⁴. The fate of Samaria was like that of other capital cities in the area, and the fate of Jerusalem, he states, will be like that of Samaria.

In the latter two contexts the Divine response is cited, which rejects the Assyrian king's conceit, heralding his failure to conquer Jerusalem. But in another context, in a description of the kingdom of Manasseh in Kings (2 Kgs 21:13), a disastrous prophecy is cited that announces the punishment anticipated for Jerusalem by comparing it with that visited on Samaria: 'I will apply to Jerusalem the measuring line of Samaria and the weights of the House of Ahab'. The tension between refutation of the comparison of Jerusalem to Samaria in the days of Hezekiah and creating such an equation with regard to the period of his son Manasseh probably expresses the idea of God's righteous providence over the world. While Sennacherib was not perceived as being authorised or permitted to conquer Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian would be considered as designated for that purpose; and whereas Hezekiah was considered worthy of deliverance, Manasseh was seen as the cause of destruction (cf. 2 Kgs 24:3-4).

In the prophetic view Jerusalem is sometimes compared with Samaria in the depiction of sin. Such a parallel appears in Micah's first prophecy: 'What is the transgression of Jacob but Samaria, and what the shrines of Judah but Jerusalem? (Mic. 1:5). The description of Samaria's destruction, 'So I will turn Samaria into a ruin in open country' (v. 6), also has an internal parallel in Micah that is bound up with the fate of Jerusalem: 'Zion shall be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps of ruins'

³⁴ The similar parallel in Isa. 36:18-20 contains two minor changes. By contrast, in the parallel in 2 Chron. 32:13-15 there are marked differences, among which is also the lack of reference to any city names.

(3:12). An explicit connection between the destiny of the two cities may be found in Mic. 1:9, if we interpret the phrase 'For her wound is incurable' as referring to Samaria. Then perhaps the verse will contain a transition of the disaster (or enemy) from Samaria, referred in the first clause, to Jerusalem, mentioned explicitly in the second clause. Even the introductory verse (Mic. 1:1) mentions both cities (instead of the names of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah): 'who prophesied concerning Samaria and Jerusalem'. We may perhaps conjecture that this formulation was influenced by the fact that the first prophecy mentioned addresses Samaria and Jerusalem³⁵.

In Jeremiah's chastisement of the prophets (ch. 23) there is a parallel between two groups defined by the two city-capitals: 'In the prophets of Samaria I saw a repulsive thing ... But what I see in the prophets of Jerusalem is something horrifying' (vv. 13-14). It would appear that the prophets of Jerusalem are presented as more sinful³⁶. The criticism against the prophets of Jerusalem very soon becomes an indictment of all the residents (of Jerusalem or of all Judah), as a comparison with Sodom is introduced: 'To Me they are all like Sodom, And its inhabitants like Gomorrah' (v. 14).

The addition of Sodom as a third city joining the paired cities of Samaria-Jerusalem is also found in Ezekiel's prophecy about Jerusalem (Ezek. 16:46 ff.). Here Samaria and Sodom are presented as Jerusalem's sisters, and the prophet rails against Jerusalem, whose sins exceed those of Samaria and of Sodom³⁷. But the prophet also adds words of comfort, in which consolation of Jerusalem is also combined with consolation of these two cities. Nevertheless, preference is finally given to Jerusalem, or so it would seem from this somewhat unclear verse: 'when you receive your older sisters and your younger sisters, and I give them to you as daughters, though they are not of your covenant' (Ezek. 16:61). An additional pairing of Samaria and Jerusalem may be found in Ezekiel's prophecy about Oholah and Oholibah (ch. 23) – the two sisters symbolizing Samaria and Jerusalem. They are treated in parallel throughout the prophecy both in

³⁵ Cf. D.R. Hillers, *Micah: A Commentary of the Book of the Prophet Micah* (Hermeneia: Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), p. 15.

³⁶ See R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1986), pp. 455-56.

³⁷ If we treat the cities like characters in a Biblical story (see n. 5 above), Jerusalem may be viewed as the 'main character', and Samaria and Sodom as 'secondary characters' whose role is to emphasise the disgrace of the main character, precisely according to one of the functions of a secondary character as presented by Simon ("Minor Characters", pp. 17-18).

terms of sin – here, too, Jerusalem is accused of exceeding the sins of Samaria (v. 11) – as well as the anticipated punishment (31-33, 45-49)³⁸.

In addition to all these parallels between Jerusalem and Samaria, formed by referring to the cities in succession (in a single verse or paragraph), we may include a parallel created between them in the Book of Kings by means of matching formulations of non-adjacent descriptions regarding their final days: in the description of the end of the kingdom of Judah a parallel is formed with the description of the fate of the kingdom of Israel³⁹. Within the latter there is also a parallel between the fate of the two cities: ‘King Shalmaneser of Assyria *marched against* Samaria and *besieged it*’ (2 Kgs 18:9) // ‘the troops of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon *marched against* Jerusalem, and the city became under *siege*’ (24:10).

As we conclude our discussion of the phenomenon of cities paired with Jerusalem, it would appropriate to relate not just to the main repeated pattern, but to its diversification as well. First we must note the variety in the phenomenon itself – the number of cities paired simultaneously. Though our discussion is dedicated to the juxtaposition of a single city to Jerusalem, in two texts we saw two cities paired with Jerusalem at the same time. Both cases involve the same cities: Samaria-Jerusalem-Sodom. In Jer. 23 the ‘prophets of Samaria’ are placed in parallel with the ‘prophets of Jerusalem’, and the men of Jerusalem are further compared to Sodom. In Ezek. 16 Jerusalem is compared simultaneously with Sodom and Samaria.

There is also variety in the textual distance between the two paralleled cities. Sometimes they are mentioned in succession within the same verse (e.g., Samaria-Jerusalem in Isa. 10:10, 11) or in successive verses (e.g., Sodom-Jerusalem in Gen. 14). Sometimes they are placed in parallel as the framework of a brief literary unit (e.g., Gibeon-Jerusalem in 1 Kgs 3:4-15). In some cases the connection between them is created within the framework of a longer story cycle (e.g., Hebron-Jerusalem in 2 Sam. 3-5), while

³⁸ A journey from Jerusalem to Samaria is depicted in the invasion of Joash, king of Israel, into Judah: ‘He marched on Jerusalem, and he made a breach in the wall of Jerusalem... and he returned to Samaria’ (2 Kgs 14:13-14). Both cities are mentioned in successive passages citing the end of Jehoshaphat’s reign and the beginning of Ahaziah’s kingdom: ‘Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers and was buried with his fathers in the city of his father David ... Ahaziah son of Ahab reigned over Israel, in Samaria, in the seventeenth year of King Jehoshaphat of Judah’ (1 Kgs 22:51-52).

³⁹ See for example: ‘He deported the Israelites to Assyria’ (2 Kgs 17:6) // ‘He deported Jehoiachin to bablylon’ (24:15); ‘So the Israelites were deported from their land’ (17:23) // ‘Thus Judah was exiled from its land’ (25:21). Their common fate is apparently alluded to as well in the historiosophic essay in 2 Kgs 17:18-20.

in others the connection comes about by viewing the totality of a complete Biblical book (e.g., Shiloh-Jerusalem in the Book of Samuel) or even by virtue of a cross-textual connection between different Biblical books (Jerusalem in 2 Sam. 24 – Hebron in Gen. 23).

Paired cities generally reflect the approach of the authorised narrator of a Biblical text, whether a story, prophecy or psalm. In a few instances the pairing is expressed by characters. Then it may possibly express a position with which the authorised narrator does not agree. A notable example of the latter is the parallel between Jerusalem and Samaria which is being chastised by the king of Assyria (Isa. 10) and by Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 18).

In their various appearances in Scripture the cities paired with Jerusalem fulfill several functions, including intensifying judgment of the characters. But for this summary we will focus briefly on two elements which contribute to illuminating the figure of Jerusalem: one relates to the acts of God, and the other to the actions of man. 1) The pairing of cities sometimes highlights *the status of Jerusalem*, either as the legitimate heir of earlier holy cities or as superior to them. Nevertheless, the prophet Jeremiah grasps this means in order to nullify any divisive perceptions concerning the uniqueness of Jerusalem. (As a variation on this approach, we may cite the comparison of Jerusalem to another capital, Samaria, which serves to negate the former's uniqueness, both through the words of Assyrian leaders as well as the word of God in the Book of Kings). 2) Other city pairs emphasize Jerusalem's being the *city of righteous and truth*, by contrasting it with Sodom, the symbol of evil and injustice. This means is also used by prophets for the opposite purpose – to sharpen their criticism of the people of Jerusalem.

The frequent appearance of the various city pairs, their distribution throughout the different parts of Scripture and identical function all permit us to hypothesise that this juxtaposition of cities was not random, but rather an accepted literary tradition that was employed in diverse ways according to varying circumstances.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

WAS THERE A MILITARY OFFICER NAMED *ZUKRAŠI* IN THE ALALAKH TEXTS?

BY

GUY BUNNENS

In 1954 Benno Landsberger proposed to recognize an important synchronism between a Hittite text apparently relating to Hattushili I's war against Aleppo and a text found in Level VII at Alalakh.¹ The same person, named Zukraši, would be mentioned in both texts with the same title: UGULA.UKU.UŠ.² This hypothesis has been widely accepted.³ There is no doubt that Landsberger's authority facilitated the adoption of his suggestion. However, the case does not seem to be as straightforward as one might think at first.

D.J. Wiseman, in his edition of the text, read the title of Zukraši as *akil šangē^{mes}* (obvious transcription of the signs UGULA SANGA.M[EŠ] visible on the hand-copy), "chief of the priests".⁴ In his review of Wiseman's publication J.-R. Kupper adopted Wiseman's reading and warned against the possible confusion of the signs SANGA and SUKAL.⁵ This is quite right. The main, and often the only, difference between SANGA and SUKAL is the presence of an horizontal wedge below the vertical ones to the right in SANGA. Such a wedge is absent in the SUKAL signs. This is illustrated by the text AT *6 itself where one can read another SANGA on

¹ B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter'", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 8 (1954), p. 52.

² Hittite text: Fragment 29/k (= *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, VII, no. 14 Obv. 14, cf. H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.*, I, Berlin 1965, p. 147; id., "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Nordsyriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.", *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 2 [1975], pp. 53-54); Alalakh text: AT *6:27 (the abbreviation AT refers to the original publication of the Alalakh texts by J.D. Wiseman, see note 4 below; further hand-copies and transliterations were published by D.J. Wiseman in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 8 [1954], pp. 1-30; 12 [1958], pp. 124-129; 13 [1959], pp. 19-33; 13 [1959], pp. 50-62).

³ See, most recently, H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.: A Handbook of Political History*, Berlin 1992, p. 81.

⁴ D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London 1953, p. 33.

⁵ J.-R. Kupper in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 11 (1954), pp. 118, 119.

line 25 and two SUKAL's on lines 12 and 29. One can also compare, for instance, the SANGA signs in AT *20:16, *27:11, *55:15, with the SUKAL signs in AT *7:43, *25:8, *27:9, *56:45, to take only a few examples. Both are different from the signs UKU.UŠ which can be read on AT *54:17, *373:20 and *374:6. UKU has two series of horizontal wedges instead of one in the SANGA and SUKAL signs.

There is therefore no doubt that the correct reading is the one originally adopted by Wiseman. Zukraši was not a military officer but the chief of the priests.

It must be noted that the name Zukraši was borne by several different individuals.⁶ Besides the chief of the priests, we can mention a Zukraši who served as pledge for his brother Bentammušuni who was obliged to work for Ammitaqum in the palace of Alalakh to repay a debt (AT *23:9). This Zukraši surely belonged to a lower level of the social hierarchy than the chief of the priests. A third Zukraši was one of four fowlers who owed money to Ammitaqum (AT *28:3). A fourth Zukraši was a groom mentioned several times in the ration lists (AT *252:18, *253:10, *254:8, *256:8, *264:6, *274:13, *283b:7). The name has even been found in the level IV corpus (AT 325:3). It was thus a rather common personal name in the region of Alalakh.

Neither the reading of the title of Zukraši in AT *6:27 nor a prosopographic study of the persons known to have worn this name support the identification proposed by Landsberger. We must give up the idea of using the name of Zukraši to establish a synchronism between Alalakh and the Hittite historical tradition.

⁶ Cf. A. Draffkorn [Kilmer], *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis*, Diss., University of Pennsylvania 1959, p. 147; E. Gaál, "On the chronology of Alalah Level VII", *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio Historica*, 22 (1982), pp. 28, 33-34 (Gaál is inclined to think that all the texts refer to the same Zukraši at various stages of his career).

IS BIBLICAL THEOLOGY POSSIBLE?

BY

A. MURTONEN

Timo Veijola, Professor of Old Testament exegesis at the University of Helsinki, recently¹ published an article entitled 'Offenbarung als Begegnung' with the sub-title, 'Von der Möglichkeit einer Theologie des Alten Testaments'. The article begins with a quotation from an article by the ten years ago deceased 'grand old man of Finnish biblical scholarship', Rafael Gyllenberg, published in a memorial publication for Alexander von Bulmerincq in 1938² under the title, 'Die Unmöglichkeit einer Theologie des Alten Testaments'. The quotation runs, 'The Old Testament scholarship is and remains study of languages, archaeology, history, history of literature, history of religion. In that respect, it is no theology... an Old Testament scholar cannot and may not work any Old Testament theology'. The article has not been accessible to me, but from Veijola's quotations and references it appears that Gyllenberg used the term, theology, in a somewhat unusual sense; e.g., presentations of OT theology by E. Sellin, W. Eichrodt and L. Koehler published during the preceding decade were deemed by him to be descriptions of Israelite-Jewish religion rather than of OT theology in the proper sense. Writing proper theology presupposed existential involvement in subject matter, and this became possible only by starting from the New Testament.

Veijola³ criticizes Gyllenberg's strict distinction between the two testaments calling attention to the fact that 'many' do not feel being addressed in an existential sense even by the NT texts; moreover, even within NT there are remarkable differences with regard to the existential relevance of its different parts. More important – for Veijola – is, however, that by taking the revelation of God's word as an encounter, this provides us with a category which corresponds to OT's own understanding of truth and reality and may also be relevant to the theology and religious experience ('Glaubenserfahrung') of our own time. Moreover, he believes it has the

¹ In *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 88 (1991), pp. 427-50.

² In *piam memoriam Alexander von Bulmerincq* (Abhandlungen der Herdergesellschaft zu Riga VI:3), Riga 1938, pp. 64-68 (as quoted by Veijola).

³ *loc. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 447ff.

advantage of providing access to OT theology directly rather than through NT and so makes dialogue possible between scholars of different religious backgrounds and traditions without prejudices, such as the recent dialogue between Christian and Jewish scholars; and also providing a hermeneutical model which could be expected to find far-reaching acceptance by Jewish scholars, as not only Buber, but many other Jewish thinkers apply 'dialogical' thinking to their studies of the Hebrew bible. Finally, Veijola also believes that an analogous interpretation is applicable to NT, quoting Hbr 1:1 saying that God has spoken to the fathers in OT 'in many kinds of ways', these 'many kinds' of ways referring to the manifold ways in which God encounters people in OT and addresses them. Accordingly, interpretation of the divine revelation in terms of encounter would serve as a foundation for a unified theology of the entire Bible. The OT is a gigantic collection of examples of people in the most diverse situations perceiving God's voice and reaching to it, and these situations often have such a paradigmatic and generally valid character that Christians may, by way of an 'existentially typological structural analogy' ('existenztypologische Strukturanalogie'), recognize in them their own situation and so find helpful orientation for their present-day life. The fact that the OT testimony often speaks about God, man and the world in very unsystematic and even contradictory terms should not be considered a weakness, but rather its strength, as just this contradictoriness and diverseness agrees with the experience of life of the present-day man, characterized as it is by tensions and oppositions.

So far Veijola. From my undergraduate days in Helsinki in the late '40s I also remember a teacher of theological preliminaries, Dr. Olavi Castren, who maintained that rather on the contrary, a personal commitment (he did not use the term 'existential') was apt – if not bound – to lead to a biased interpretation of the scripture; hence, an interpretation by a non-believer was more objective and hence more trustworthy than one by a scholar who was also committed Christian. This, however, overlooks the fact, as Oswald Bayer in his analysis of Johann Georg Hamann's anti-Cartesian polemic⁴ pertinently observes, that it is simply not possible to think without preconceptions⁵. Nevertheless, this is of course also true of committed Christian scholars, as can plainly be seen not only in the production of so-called fundamentalists, but also – though to a lesser extent – in the influence of their different denominational backgrounds on the approach to various problems by many others; to go no further, I still

⁴ "Wahrheit oder Methode?", *ZThK* 86 (1989), pp. 179-203 (ref. p. 188f).

⁵ 'Vorurteile' literally 'prejudices', but the English word has a more pejorative connotation.

vividly recall the upheaval which took place in my thinking in the early '60s in consequence of my leaving practical parish work in close contact with a revivalist movement in the Finnish Lutheran church to pursue an academic career in Australia – not without outward influences here either, only with different ones. Some more or less occasional motivation is discernible in Veijola's production too, in the present instance the dialogue between Christian and Jewish scholars⁶.

Veijola's assumption that a coherent biblical theology could be founded on a collection of more or less anecdotal narratives also seems motivated by the same occasional factor, in part anyway. At least in the form he present it, the argument appears self-contradictory. In everyday life, of course, controversies and self-contradictory statements may and often do occur, and in an on-going dialogue between parties starting from fundamentally widely differing premisses they may be commonplace, but how can a coherent system based on the Bible as a whole be constructed without reconciliation of such differences?

In practice, if not in theory, Gyllenberg's prediction has proved true. As far as I know anyway, no subsequent presentation of the OT theology has adequately reconciled those differences⁷. On the contrary, even on single topics and more or less concise passages, more recent studies⁸ keep

⁶ Another contemporary concern, referred to in his *Dekalogi* (Helsinki 1988), pp. 236f (with ref. to Hans Jonas, *Das Prinzip Verantwortung*, Frankfurt a.M. 1987) is that for the environment.

⁷ Cf. Veijola's discussion, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 430ff; personally, I am familiar with Ebeling's, Smend's and Bultmann's articles (ref. nn. 18.19.22) as well as with G. von Rad, *Old Testament theology* (Engl. ed. 1963) vol. I.

⁸ E.g., on the decalogue on which the literature has greatly proliferated in the past three decades; I am familiar with A. Alt's articles on *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts* and *Das Verbot des Diebstahls im Dekalog* (as reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* I, 1968, pp. 278-332, 333-340); H.J. Boecker's *Recht und Gesetz im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976); Chr. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot* (Bonn 1985); G. Fohrer, *Das sogenannte apodiktisch formulierte Recht und der Dekalog* (BZAW 115, Berlin 1969, pp. 120-48); H. Gese, *Der Dekalog als Ganzheit betrachtet* (Vom Sinai zum Zion, München 1974, p. 63-80); S. Gevirtz, "West-Semitic curses and the problem of the origins of Hebrew law", *Vetus Testamentum* 11 (1961), pp. 137-58; A. Graupner, "Zum Verhältnis der beiden Dekalogfassungen", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 99 (1987), pp. 308-29; F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog* (Freiburg-Göttingen 1982); E. Kutsch, *Verheißung und Gesetz* (BZAW 131, Berlin - New York 1973); B. Lang, "Du sollst nicht nach der Frau eines anderen verlangen", *ZAW* 93 (1981), pp. 216-24; ID., "Das Verbot des Meineids im Dekalog", *Theologische Quartalschrift* 161 (1981), pp. 97-105; ID., "Neuen über den Dekalog", *ThQ* 164 (1984), pp. 58-65; H. Klein, "Verbot des Menschendiebstahls im Dekalog?", *VT* 26 (1976), pp. 161-69; Chr. Levin, "Der Dekalog am Sinai", *VT* 35 (1985), pp. 165-91; E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts"* (WMANT 20, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1965); S. Mowinckel, "Zur Geschichte der Dekaloge", *ZAW* 55 (1937), pp. 218-35; L. Peritt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* (WMANT 36, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969); K.-D. Schunck, "Das 9. und 10. Gebot – jüngstes Glied des Dekalogs", *ZAW* 96 (1984), pp. 104-09;

discovering seemingly irreconcilable differences. This despite the fact that those studies generally⁹ seem to concentrate on formal and contextual features, discussing matters of content only as far as they are relevant to structural or other formative factors¹⁰.

Occasionally, however, one comes across a study with more substantial discussion of subject matter and even recognition of a topic that could bridge the chasm between the two testaments and thus possibly lead to a unified biblical theology. One such study is Hartmut Gese's article on apocalyptic¹¹, although even that concentrates mainly on formal structure discussing it mainly on the basis of a single – albeit composite – OT book, that of Zechariah, and touches on features relevant to our topic only in passing. Nevertheless, right in the beginning of the article he recognizes the substantially apocalyptic character of the contents of the NT, and later on¹² the sixth century B.C. as the major formative period of apocalypticism. This comes rather close to my discussion of the topic, albeit in a preliminary fashion only, in my recent collection of prolegomena to a multidimensional interpretation of the Bible¹³; although he does not recognize the psychological roots of the development.

Despite general recognition of the merits of Johs. Pedersen's classic presentation of OT psychology¹⁴ and at least tacit acceptance of major results of different schools of depth psychology, application of these to Bible study has been very sporadic at best. One reason for this may be that such studies, pioneering as they are, often take into account material the nature of which is still deemed controversial, or if written by psychologists, suffer from insufficient familiarity with biblical – and other ancient Oriental – subject matter¹⁵. Therefore their results may sometimes sound quite bizarre, but nevertheless merit attention.

W. Zimmerli, *Das zweite Gebot* (Gottes Offenbarung, München 1969), pp. 234-348; apart from encyclopedia articles, commentaries, book reviews and other more indirectly relevant literature. For references to all those listed above I am indebted to the bibliography in Veijola's Dekalogi (cf. n. 6 above).

⁹ For an exception – even that qualified – cf. below (with n. 11).

¹⁰ Such as assumed pairs or groups of three in preliminary formations preceding the decalogue, change of grammatical person, key words etc.

¹¹ "Anfang und Ende der Apokalypitik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch", *ZThK* 70 (1973), pp. 20-49.

¹² *ib.*, pp. 22ff.

¹³ A. Murtonen, *Reality and the Bible. Prolegomena to a multidimensional interpretation of the Bible* (Melbourne 1991) ch. VII. The work was published by and is obtainable from the author (address now: 7 Essex Street, Footscray, Vic. 3011, Australia; price \$12.- (Australian) + postage).

¹⁴ *Israel, its life and culture I-II* (Engl. ed. 1926).

¹⁵ An exception is E. Drewermann, *Strukturen des Bösen I-III* (Paderborn 1977-8); the author is a Jesuit with psychoanalytic training, but his Freudian background too largely influences his presentation.

This is the case in particular with the work of Julian Jaynes, Professor of psychology at Princeton university, entitled 'The origin of consciousness in the breakdown of the bicameral mind' which title already indicates the author's main conclusion. In some more detail¹⁶, Jaynes starts from the observation that schizophrenic individuals perceive voices inside their brains which they feel compelled to obey, and that ancient law codes use 'apodictic'¹⁷ style which does not even consider the possibility of disobedience, and concludes that the early human society down to the late second millenium B.C. (in Mesopotamia) and even later (in Israel, cf. Amos) was 'schizophrenic', with brain halves disconnected.

Jaynes does not account for conservative use of language in authoritative pronouncements and documents, but his assumption that the style ultimately derives from physiological separation of brain halves may nevertheless be on the right track. It is hard to see how physiological separation of the brain halves could have been maintained everywhere in the ancient world down to ca. 1200 B.C. only to be broken down within a few centuries without more obvious concomitant physiological developments; but assuming that the establishment of physiological connection between the brain halves created a **potential** for 'disobedience', i.e. for independent thinking of which, however, use was made only gradually increasing when necessity for it arose, it could conceivably have happened in connection with the mutation which brought the present human subspecies into existence – if not earlier still. The vast majority would conform to tradition without thinking of questioning its authority, until pressing need induced them to make use of the potential for independent thinking – perhaps when the threat of overpopulation in the Fertile Crescent and its outskirts led to the adoption of systematic agriculture and animal husbandry. In the Bible, all this is telescoped into the story of the paradise and the first human pair, their expulsion corresponding to the end of the food gathering economy, and conflict between Cain and Abel to the conflict of interests of sedentary agriculturists and semi-nomadic cattle raisers practising transhumance. Individuals – usually males – thus represent entire collective communities or industrial classes; in terms of Jungian psychology, they are archetypal projections from the collective unconscious. Female figures appear only where a feminine role is required – Eve, the archetypal mother

¹⁶ Cf. A. Murtonen, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 47. What follows is also discussed in greater detail *ib.* ch. VII (and occasionally in earlier passages).

¹⁷ Jaynes uses this term in a wider sense (not subject to formal characteristics) than Alt, Fohrer, Gerstenberger etc. who do not fully agree between themselves either. My use of the term in Reality and the Bible was influenced by Jaynes.

and also the anima prototype as the only really important one, Adah and Zillah being named probably because of their appearance in the ancient ditty as witnesses to Lamech's self-glorification, and Naamah as representative of female musicians often accompanying travelling tradesmen.

Individualistic thinking became more widespread when tribal communities began to mix and ultimately fell apart. The former development may have started in connection with the penetration of the tribes which later formed Israel into the land of Canaan, although it may have taken place so slowly and gradually that no major hostilities or other emergencies arose, and so only some individuals, such as the prophets, and minor groups or clans, such as the Rechabites, found occasion and ability to maintain separate identity against the mainstream tendency to assimilate. It appears that only the Assyrian expansion and policy of wholesale transportations and mixing up of tribes with widely different traditions and backgrounds gave decisive impetus towards the dissolution of the tribal type of society, characterized by conformity and collective fashion of thinking; continuing political upheavals during the subsequent centuries helped to maintain the trend towards more widespread individualism in thinking and structure of society.

This could not fail to affect religion either. In tribal communities, religion was mainly a collective concern, maintenance of the cult of the tribal god. Sin was a more or less occasional deviation from the tribal norm of behaviour, 'missing the mark'. More individualistic way of thinking led to increasing introspection, assisted by the threat of overpopulation. For as long as cultivable ground was sufficiently available, increase in family size was a blessing¹⁸, potential help in maintaining and improving family well-being; hence, sexuality was positively evaluated. With growing shortage of means of livelihood, an additional child became strain on limited resources, blessing a curse, sexuality something to be avoided and ultimately sinful. Formerly, sin had been something and occasional, now it became inwardly and permanently resident in human psyche. This was conducive to more intensive introspection, and it appears that even the unconscious was activated, leading subsequently to the creation of the ideal of virginity on the one hand, on the other – to an increase in homosexuality.

Visionaries are usually introspective in character. Rise of apocalypticism alongside increased and intensified introspection is therefore no coincidence. This does not mean, however, that visionary experiences did not

¹⁸ Cf. A. Murtonen, "The use and meaning of the words /lbarek/ and /brakah/ in the Old Testament", *VT* 9 (1959), pp. 158-77.

occur before the 6th century B.C.; Is ch. 6 and Am chs. 7-9 are certainly authentic, cf. also 1K 22:17-23. In Jungian terms, they are projections from the unconscious, and comparable visions have been reliably reported from our own days¹⁹. The reports of God's physical activities in the paradise and with Moses on Mt. Sinai are likewise conceivable as based on projections from the unconscious, as also the figure of the /mal'ak/, originally conceived as a form of manifestation of God. In post-biblical Judaism, the figure of Shechina continues this tradition, and in NT, at least Jh (12:45 14:9) identifies Jesus with this figure, although no doubt conceived in a more permanent, 'materialized' sense, cf. 1:14; even some features in the reports of appearance of the resurrected (20:27 21:13) seem to presuppose at least temporary materialization. However, all these are also conceivable as secondary intensifications of actual experiences. Differences in the form of manifestation of the projections from the unconscious being attributable to individual characteristics of the recipients and/or more general circumstances, and the more intensive concept and consciousness of sin traceable to the same origins, formation of a unified biblical theology would seem possible on this basis.

¹⁹ Cf. A. Murtonen, *op. cit.* (n. 13), chs. II & VI (and the literature quoted in the comments on these chapters).

REVIEWS

Il pane del re: Accumulo e distribuzione dei cereali nell'Oriente antico ed. Rita Dolce & Carlo Zaccagnini [Studi di storia antica 13] (Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice: Bologna, 1989). Pp. 135.

The five essays published in this volume stem from a seminar held on 19 April 1985 in the "Dipartimento di scienze storiche, archeologiche ed antropologiche dell'antichità" of the University of Rome "La Sapienza". They cover a wide range of areas, periods and disciplines. Their common denominator is the study of accumulation and subsequent redistribution of grain surplus by the central (royal) administration in various parts of the ancient Near East. Material, administrative and ideological aspects of this process are examined by the participants to the seminar.

Two papers deal with archaeological aspects of the problem. Rita Dolce in "Note per una riconsiderazione di alcune strutture di immagazzinamento e di lavorazione di derrate nel III e nel II millennio in Mesopotamia e in Siria" (pp. 17-48), suggests a new interpretation for several 3rd and 2nd millennium architectural structures excavated in Mesopotamia and Syria. She identifies some of them, especially at Abu Salabikh and Tell Brak, as working areas for the preparation of food. Others, at Tell Asmar, Ur and Chagar Bazar, are interpreted as storage devices.

The second archaeological paper, "Produzione di vasellame in serie e distribuzione di razioni alimentari nelle società protourbane del periodo Tardo Uruk-Jemdet Nasr" (pp. 49-63), by Marcella Frangipane, is more specifically devoted to the "bevelled-rim bowls". The author adopts the opinion that the "bevelled-rim bowls" had a standard capacity and were used as containers for the distribution of individual food rations during the Uruk period.

Three papers deal with the written evidence. In a well documented study, "Le razioni alimentari nel Vicino Oriente antico: Per un articolazione storica del sistema" (pp. 65-100), Luciano Milano meticulously reviews the third millennium cuneiform texts to outline the functioning of the ration system in Mesopotamia and Syria (Ebla). He finds that from the Early Dynastic to the Akkad period the development of dependent labour prompted changes in the criteria used to determine food rations. In Syria, where there does not seem to have been a dependent workforce, the Sumerian terminology was adopted but without all its implications.

In another article, "Note sulla redistribuzione dei cereali nel Vicino Oriente del II e I millennio" (pp. 101-116), Carlo Zaccagnini comments on the ideological aspects of grain distribution in the ancient Near East, from Mesopotamia to Egypt, in the 2nd and 1st millennia B.C. The main evidence he investigates is letters and literary texts. Two ideas seem to underlie the redistribution process: the receiver

must be in great need, almost dying, and the dispensed food must be overabundant. As a literary topos, however, generous food distribution primarily belongs to the royal ideology of the first half of the second millennium and is only sporadically mentioned in 1st millennium texts.

The third of the studies devoted to written evidence concentrates on Biblical texts. Cristiano Grottanelli, in "Dal re al profeta: Distribuzione dei cereali e ideale religioso nella Bibbia ebraica" (pp. 117-135), shows that the Biblical authors may use the theme of food distribution either to justify a new institution, such as the tithe in 2 Chron. 31, or to criticize existing practices, as in Gen. 41 and 47.

The editors and authors of this little volume must be congratulated for their work. It is only by combining the efforts of scholars of various disciplines that an historical interpretation of ancient Near Eastern cultures can be achieved. Publications such as the one under review mark a step in the right direction

GUY BUNNENS

Horst Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C. A Handbook of Political History*. (Akademie Verlag: Berlin, 1992). Pp. 263, maps. ISBN 3-05-001820-8.

Twenty-two years after the last of the three volumes of his *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.* (Berlin 1965-1970), Horst Klengel has published another reference book on the history of ancient Syria. The scope of this new book differs from that of its predecessor. It covers a longer period of time, including the third and first millennia B.C., and it is less analytical in its presentation of the material. The texts are grouped in broad chronological sections. Every section is subdivided in two parts. The first one lists the sources and archives available to the historian, and gives a brief description of their contents with a comprehensive bibliography. The second part outlines the history of the period. A table of attested synchronisms and four maps complete the volume.

The intention of the author is clearly explained in the introduction. Only political history will be dealt with. The reader must not expect discussions on the economic and social background, nor on culture and religion. This is a very consistent choice. There is a need for a reliable and up-to-date political history of ancient Syria. Although historians must be concerned with every aspect of ancient societies, political history still is, and will always be, the frame within which the movement of the past is contained. It can therefore be legitimately considered as an object of study, even though only as a preliminary one. From this point of view, the author provides here a wealth of information that will be of invaluable help to anyone interested in ancient Syria.

As to the geographical criteria adopted by the author, they too correspond to a geographical reality. The area under consideration is delimited by the Mediterranean sea in the west, the Euphrates and the desert in the east, the southern slopes of the Taurus Mountains in the north and, in the south, a line going from Tyre to Dera'a along the southern border of modern Lebanon and Syria. This area forms the northern part of what modern Arabs call Shamiye, or Bilad esh-Sham, or, as we

would say, Grand Syria. This area witnessed the development of an original culture from the early 3rd millennium B.C. onwards. The author's concentration on the northern part of Grand Syria is justified by the fact that the north was always attracted, and influenced, by Mesopotamia, whereas the south was turned towards Egypt and Arabia. The north, as well as the south for that matter, thus forms a geographically and culturally autonomous entity within a larger complex.

More difficult to solve is the problem of periodization. There is no uninterrupted sequence of events that could be used as a basis for defining chronological subdivisions in the political history of ancient Syria. Also, the historian often has to rely on sources which come from outside the region. This tends to impose a chronological framework on Syria, which actually applies to other countries. The archaeological terminology — Early, Middle, Late Bronze and Iron Ages — is not satisfactory either, because it is too loose and, to some extent, conventional. It is nonetheless this system that has been used to devise the main chapters of the book, assuredly for the sake of convenience rather than for the accuracy of the system.

The book is well informed and very easy, not to say very pleasant, to use. There is no doubt that this new history of Syria fills a gap in the scholarly literature. It is a welcome complement to the earlier *Geschichte Syriens* of the same author and a very good and convenient introduction to the textual evidence relating to ancient Syria.

GUY BUNNENS

Paolo Xella, *Baal Hammon: Recherches sur l'identité et l'histoire d'un dieu phénico-punique*. (Collezione di Studi Fenici 32, Contributi alla Storia della Religione Fenicio-Punica 1). Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche: Rome, 1991. Pp. 251, xii plates.

Baal Hammon is primarily known as a Punic god. His character, however, is extremely complex. From his origins in the Near East to his assimilation to Saturn in Roman Africa, the god went through many transformations. Paolo Xella, a leading expert in the field of Syrian and Phoenician religion, was well prepared to undertake an analytical study of the entire available evidence.

Xella begins with a review of the textual evidence and successively examines texts from the Near East and the Punic world as well as classical authors. He then moves on to an iconographic study. The last two parts of the book are devoted to the etymology of the name and, more broadly, a general interpretation of the nature of the god. The essential conclusions of the book can be summarized as follows: although he has roots in the Bronze Age, Baal Hammon becomes prominent only at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.; he is the god of a particular form of shrine or chapel called ḤMN; he is viewed as a sort of ancestral and domestic god; his function consists in ensuring the stability and perennality of the community.

Let us examine some of the main arguments of the book.

Very few Near Eastern texts mentioning Baal Hammon are earlier than the Punic period. Only two inscriptions can be mentioned. The oldest one is the 9th century inscription of Kilamuwa (*KAI* 24), found in Zincirli, which invokes

B'L ḤMN together with B'L ṢMD and RKB 'L, in the curses at the end of the inscription. The other inscription is found on a small 6th century amulet from the region of Tyre (P. Bordreuil in *Studia Phoenicia*, IV, 1986, p. 83), in which the owner of the object implores the blessing of B'L ḤMN and B'L ṢPN. This is brief and tells very little about the origin and nature of the god. In an effort to increase the corpus of references Xella turns to the personal names. He thinks that Ugaritic theophoric names comprising the element ḤMN/*Ḥamanu*, such as 'BD-ḤMN/*Abdi-Ḥamanu*, could refer to (Baal?) Hammon (cf. pp. 36-38). He adds that ḤMN, either as a component of personal names or as an independent divine (?) name, can still be found in Phoenicia and as far as Assyria. One can wonder, however, to what extent these names are relevant to the problem of Baal Hammon. It might have been more effective to make a clear distinction between the direct evidence — all the texts mentioning, in a form or another, Baal Hammon — and related evidence, such as theophoric names with ḤMN. If Baal Hammon can be seen as the god of ḤMN, whatever the meaning of this word, this does not imply that every conclusion that can be drawn from a study of ḤMN should be automatically extended to Baal Hammon.

In the Mediterranean, the god is known in various places, in Sicily, Sardinia and Malta, but the bulk of the evidence comes from Africa, especially from Carthage and el-Hofra, near Constantine. In many of these places, including Carthage and el-Hofra, the god is closely associated with a *tophet*. There are traces, however, of other aspects of his cult. An inscription from el-Hofra (A. Berthier & R. Charlier, *Le sanctuaire punique d'el-Hofra*, 1955, no. 25, p. 27), in which Baal Hammon is called BL (for B'L) BT "lord of the house" would outline the role of the god as an ancestral deity. In Carthage an interesting evolution occurs in the 5th century B.C. From then on the name of the god is mentioned after that of his consort Tinnit (Tanit), instead of being placed before it, as happened in earlier inscriptions and is also the case in most inscriptions found outside Carthage. However, according to Xella, this evolution does not seem to indicate that significant changes occurred in the function of the god.

The inscription CIS I 3778, dating from the 3rd century B.C., is the subject of a long discussion (pp. 47-57). It refers to a temple of Baal Hammon and associates Baal Hammon to Baal Shamem, Tinnit (Tanit) and an elusive Baal MGNM. The existence of a temple, or temples, of Baal Hammon at Carthage is confirmed by the *Periplus of Hannon*, a text whose authenticity, however, is not beyond suspicion.

The Greek and Roman authors identify Baal Hammon with Kronos and Saturn. The reality of this identification is confirmed by the perfect coincidence existing between the areas where both Baal Hammon and Saturn were worshipped in Africa. From the assimilation of the two gods Xella draws the conclusion that Baal Hammon was considered as belonging to an earlier generation of gods, which would confirm his function of ancestral god. The classical authors associate Kronos with the practice of human sacrifices. This would tend to show that Baal Hammon was not only the god of the child sacrifices performed in the *tophet*, but that the

basis of his power was broader. A special place, among the classical authors, must be assigned to Philo of Byblos. Philo identifies Kronos with the semitic god El, "father of the gods" in the Ugaritic mythology. Here again Xella, relying on the well attested identification of Kronos with Baal Hammon finds a confirmation of the function of Baal Hammon as an ancestral god.

The iconography of the god is a vexed issue. Xella rightly refuses to discuss the association of symbols carved on stelae with particular gods. He prefers to concentrate on the figurative evidence. Only one figure can almost surely be recognized as that of Baal Hammon. It comes from el-Hofra and is reproduced on figure VIII/4 (not VIII/3 as said in the text, p. 120). The identification is made possible by the inscription carved on the stela, which mentions Baal Hammon. It can therefore be argued, as Xella acknowledges, that similar figures on other monuments also represent Baal Hammon. However, it cannot be ruled out, as Xella also acknowledges (p. 113), that the same iconographic type applies to different deities. But such a principle has as its corollary the idea that other iconographic types might represent Baal Hammon too, and, here, Xella is probably too quick in dismissing them (p. 113, n. 26).

The last section of the book is devoted to a study of the name of Baal Hammon. At first, Xella refutes all the existing theories, in particular the ones identifying the god with the "Lord of Mount Amanus" or with the "Lord of the (Incense) Burner". Then he propounds his own theory, namely that ḤMN means "shelter", "canopy" and refers to a small sacred structure, a sort of chapel. The word would exist in Ugaritic and Hurrian alphabetic texts, in Palmyrene and Nabataean, even in Hebrew (in the plural form ḤMNYM). Baal Hammon would be the "Lord of the Chapel".

The present writer must confess that he has always been puzzled by explanations such as that of ḤMN meaning "incense burner" or the like. The new explanation by "chapel" belongs to the same type. Could a god really be named after a cultic device? Can we imagine that anthroponyms such as *Abdi-ḥamanu* could mean either "servant of the incense burner" or "servant of the chapel"? The geographical explanation of the component ḤMN in the name of B'L ḤMN seems therefore preferable, pending a better and irrefutable interpretation. Baal Hammon should be considered as the "Lord of Mount Amanus". After all, it would not be the only god named after a mountain and his mention at Zincirli as well as his occurrence with Baal Saphon on the amulet from the Tyre region, mentioned above, both point in the same direction — a northern location in the area where Mount Amanus was.

This last negative comment should not be taken as a criticism of the work as a whole. Xella's book is very challenging and stimulating reading. The interpretation of Baal Hammon as an ouranian deity, protector of the community, is very convincing. There is no doubt that this book makes a significant contribution to the study not only of Baal Hammon but of Phoenician and Punic religion in general.

GUY BUNNENS

T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)* (Peeters: Louvain, 1993). Pp. xxii + 257. ISBN 2-87723-070-8.

Professor Muraoka arrived to the Chair of Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Melbourne in 1980 and left it in mid-1991 to take up the Chair in Hebrew at the University of Leiden. In scholarly output it was a most productive decade for him, and the present lexicon was begun and largely written in the second half of that time. Fruitful collaborations with J.A.L. Lee and R.G. Jenkins helped its active prosecution; but the finished volume is testimony to one's man's perseverance in seeing it through to the end. Far too self-effacingly has he described himself in another context as 'one who himself has dabbled in [LXX lexicography]'.

Given the long, grinding patience that is needed to complete any lexicon, it is therefore astounding that within less than two years we now have not one but two LXX lexica on our desks. For in 1992 a Belgian team headed by J. Lust produced the first volume of *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart), covering the letters A-I. The remaining volume to complete this undertaking should not be far off. Now, a review of either work could devote itself beneficially to a detailed comparison of the two works – henceforth M and LEH, respectively – but only a few such comments will be made here. Accordingly, this will be primarily a review of M, not a broader assessment of the best methods of approaching LXX lexicography. And rather than a comprehensive analysis of M, a sampling is made to highlight within the bounds of reasonable space both the positive features of this work – which the author describes modestly as 'a pilot project for exploring ... LXX lexicography' in general (p. viii) – and also some aspects which might merit further thought.

First, then, to some points of comparison. In layout, M is much easier on the eye than the cramped arrangement of LEH. The latter's running heads, lacking in M, are useful, however. The statistical information on word frequencies in different sections of the LXX and the secondary literature is provided extremely concisely in LEH without sacrificing clarity. The frequencies are not so clearly set forth in M, and references to modern discussions are considerably more sparse (which will be no fault in everyone's eyes). In contrast to this, M's entries are much more detailed in their semantic analysis, while LEH can be rather light-on in this regard. Of course, LEH is covering the entire LXX, so M can afford to luxuriate somewhat in the amount of space allowed by the publisher. Roughly speaking, LEH includes four times the number of words found in M for the equivalent portion of the alphabet. For the letters H, Θ, and I the relative numbers of headwords (LEH includes a few cross references) are: 65:14, 175:46, and 139:27.

Much more important is the fact that LEH follows Rahlfs' text, and treats neither variants nor Aquila and the other ancient translators. M is superior in these respects and, indeed, makes clear that the choice of the Minor Prophets section was determined partly by the non-availability in the earlier 1980s of the whole Penta-teuch in Wevers' Göttingen editions. (A small number of words found only outside the Twelve Prophets is also treated if they are 'semantically associated' with other

words within the target corpus, e.g., ἀρνίον). Of equal significance are two other features: LEH normally provides glosses ('translation equivalents') only, whereas M consciously strives to provide definitions (p. xii); and in contrast to LEH's decision (p. x) to provide the sense which the translator intended, M has focused (p. viii) on what the words would have meant to a reader of the Hellenistic period who had no knowledge of Semitic languages. The first of these questions is at the heart of Modern lexicography; the second is a continuing issue for LXX lexicography specifically. It must be said that the introduction to each lexicon shows awareness of most of these problems, but not always is the resolution of the problem borne out in the lexicon which follows. In opting for glosses, LEH acknowledges that 'most often, ... LSJ was the immediate guide' (p. vi); this needs to be underlined, for in fact LSJ has been used wholesale. In M's case, there are quite a number of examples where a gloss rather than a definition is all that is given. This point stands even after it is allowed that for certain types of words a gloss is all that is needed in an historical dictionary: λέων is an easy example. Thus, the fact that ποικίλος is distinguished from ψαρός at Zach. 6.6 but is a refining qualifier of it only three verses earlier necessitates something better than '*multi-coloured*' for ποικίλος. This might do for Joseph's *chiton* at Gen. 37.3, but not for the horses in Zach. Are not μαχητής and πολέμιστής complete synonyms at Joel 3.9, rhetorical *variatio* being employed? Is there any gain, then, to gloss the former with '*fighter, warrior*' when the latter simply has '*warrior*'? Is the 'etymological serpent' raising its head? While on the subject of snakes, the end of the entry for δράκων cross-refers to ἀσπίς and ὄφις; but although there is an entry for the latter word, there is none for ἀσπίς. The user should be aware, therefore, that 'Cf.' does not always indicate that there is another entry in M.

This example brings us on to the question of abbreviations. It is obvious that a great deal of thought has been invested in the set of abbreviations employed in M. Yet such a carefully system is one thing for the deviser, who is living with his work throughout its gestation over several years; it may be viewed rather differently by the user. Thus, the obelus (†) is employed for two discrete functions in different sections of each entry (p. xxi, referring back to pp. xiii and xv; an example is σκολιός): this has the potential to cause confusion. Consider also the entry for ποιμαίνω, which reads ο ποιμνιον ... b. fig. ... In this case it would be natural (but incorrect) to assume that ο is a typographical error for α., since entries with a b. section mostly have a section a. marked, too. While on the subject of abbreviations, it should be pointed out that LEH and M do not agree on contractions to represent the LXX books. It is surely overdue for the IOSCS to devise an agreed set of abbreviations to be employed universally.

The issue of how much etymology should be allowed to affect the definition has been alluded to briefly already. It is not always possible to escape this influence, and there are a number of instances in M which show this. To take ὁχλαγωγέω as an example, the definition '*to incite mob* (against sbd ἐπὶ τινι)' is proffered for the sole LXX attestation at Amos 7.16. Yet it is decidedly odd to say, 'Do not prophesy against Israel, and certainly do not incite the mob against the house of Jacob'. Now,

since the last phrase refers to the nation (see *οἶκος*, 3, though the definition offered there is perhaps too broad), ‘the mob’ is simply the non-aristocratic members of Israelite society. Perhaps we should render the text by ‘Do not act the demagogue to the disadvantage of (see *ἐπὶ*, 5) the nation’. This example conveniently raises a number of issues. It highlights what everyone who has tried his hand at lexicography comes to realise with dismay: that in general the smaller the word, the more difficult it is to define. Prepositions fall into this category preeminently. Hence the entry on *ἐπὶ* in M takes more space (three full columns) than any other *ε*- word; *ἐν* requires most of a page. So, too, *ἐκ* and *ἐξ*. Not even *εἰμί* or *ἔχω* needs so much room. In the Amos passage *ἐπὶ* with hostile implication may not be the most appropriate sense. Apart from the alternative suggested above, ‘in relation to’ or ‘over’ (LSJ, *s.v.*, III.2 or 3) may fit rather better. A second observation arising from consideration of this verse in Amos is that lexicography cannot be done in isolation from historical knowledge about the society which is using the language. The third point is that the portion of the verse cited in M under this entry for *ὀχλαγωγέω* is given as *οὐ μὴ ὀχλαγωγήσῃς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ*. While ‘Israel’ is mentioned earlier in the verse (‘Do not prophesy against Israel, ...’), Ziegler’s text reads *Ἰακωβ* at its end. Either there has been a scribal lapse in the transmission of the citation into the lexicon, or the citation as provided in HR – *οὐ μὴ ὀχλαγωγήσῃς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰ.* – has led the editor astray.

A reader who pays close attention to M will find much to learn, not only from what is explicitly stated but also from what is implicit. The adverbial particle *ποῦ* is demonstrated to be expanding its semantic horizons to cover classical *ποῦ* as well. The latter is not well attested after the classical period (see LSJ); and though HR attests one instance (Jer. 2.28), it is a problematic reading, at best. Cf. J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the LXX Version of the Pentateuch* (SCS 14; Chico, 1983) 81 n. 40. Again, *ποῖος* = *τίνος*, ‘what?’, has Homeric and Classical precedent (see LSJ, *s.v.*, IV) but this sense of the adjective really comes into vogue in post-classical Greek when most of the other usages are either in decline or already obsolete. The LXX reflects this development faithfully, as we should expect. An example of a different kind is *πόλις*, which provides a notable illustration of the editor’s aim to represent what the words meant to readers of the Hellenistic period. The two senses given are ‘*large population centre*’, and ‘*inhabitants of large population centre*’. In earlier Greek this word has much more specific associations: an autonomous, urban-centred, Greek state with its own laws, currency, calendar, citizen militia, etc. The LXX usage shows us that this noun was shifting semantically to accommodate not only the changes within civic structures in the Hellenic world but also as translators and readers attempted to find an appropriate term to represent what they thought obtained in a non-Hellenic culture.

When we compare the definition (or gloss) with the translation included for some examples inconsistently is occasionally visible. This may also be said of the same passage treated under different headwords. Mostly these differences are of a trivial nature, e.g., *s.v.* *πρίζω* the rendering of Amos 1.3 omits ‘iron’, but it is

correctly given *s.v.* *πρίων*. Again, it may be felt that the different renderings of Mic. 1.13 at *ἄρμα* and *ἱππεύς* are of little consequence; but there is enough of a difference that not every reader would be persuaded. So, too, in the case of *μᾶλλον*: defined as ‘more’ but glossed as ‘ever more’ for the Jonah passage cited. The difference is more marked with Na. 3.8: under *ἄρμυζω* a literal gloss is given, whereas *s.v.* *χορδή* the figurative force of the idiom is recognised. These inconsistencies can impinge upon the definition, too. The first sense given for *αἰχμαλωσία* is ‘*exile, captivity*, i.e. state of being a captive’; and the rendering given there for Zach. 14.2 is ‘half of the city will leave in captivity’. In contrast, *s.v.* *πόλις*, 2, this same passage is rendered as ‘... leave as exiles’. This certainly gives a different – and misleading – sense, which is to be traced back to the definition advanced under *αἶχ*. This noun has to do with being a prisoner of war, from which slavery and departure from one’s homeland may be the outcome. Exile implies something rather different. As a final example we may consider Hos. 9.8. At *σκολινός* there is provided a definition and a translation equivalent for the word – ‘*not straight, crooked*’ – and also a rendering for the particular phrase *παγίς σκολιά*: ‘a twisted trap’. When we turn to *παγίς*, the fuller citation π. σ. ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ is rendered ‘a crooked trap on all his ways’. Here we are dealing with a metaphor: the prophet is a bent trap, i.e., unable to fulfil the function for which he was made. The noun is the figurative element, but that is not indicated for this example under *παγίς* to make it contrast with the second citation (Amos 3.5) where the usage is literal. Second, ‘on all his ways’ is alright in itself, but this rendering may lay itself open to being paraphrased incorrectly by a user of the lexicon with ‘in all his behaviour’. It thus unintentionally emerges as sufficiently unclear as to require some modification. We all bring our own cultural impedimenta to our work; and in the case of lexicography this can impinge on definitions and translation glosses. To gloss *ληστής* at Hoss 7.1 as ‘highway robber’ (*s.v.* *ἐκδιδύσκω* and *ληστής*) – under the influence of the following ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, perhaps? – may be as misleading as to gloss this noun with ‘bushranger’.

Prepositions have been singled out above as particularly curly items, and Professor Muraoka is to be admired for the gritty attention he has given to these. He has also sensibly allowed himself some flexibility in certain entries where definitions and glosses are not really the most appropriate way to proceed, providing what may be called descriptive comments in entries for words such as particles, e.g., *ἔν*, *δέ*, *μέν*. *Θυσία* is unusual in that the ed. provides a comment on the word that is twice the length of the entry strictly so called.

One group of words that may strike the reader as handled a little less satisfactorily is diminutives. It is otiose to define *κοράσιον* and *παιδάριον* as ‘*young female child*’ and ‘*young male child*’, respectively, even if a true diminutive force were to be allowed, which is arguable. Similarly *ἀρνίον* is ‘(little) *lamb*’. In the cases of *ποίμνη* and *ποίμνιον*, the definitions given are ‘*flock* [sic] of small cattle’ and ‘*flock* [sic], *herd* of small cattle’. I am not convinced that any of the examples for either word support a diminutive force, which anyway appears to have been transferred in the

definition to the size of the animals from the size of the herd. Gen. 32:16 confirms that there is no difference in meaning between these words: both are used in this verse, and we may presume that *variatio* was what motivated the translator.

Sometimes, definitions over-distinguish meanings between words. For δέρμα we are given 'skin on the living body', while 'skin of body when taken off' is the definition proffered for δορά. Both words occur within a few verses in Micah chapters 2 and 3, and both are the object of ἐκδέρω. Stylistic variation once more? As for this verb, 'to remove a thin flat object off a surface' is too neutral. The simplex verb and its compounds carries an emotive connotation pretty well everywhere such that a more 'aggressive' idea is implicit: 'flay', 'strip the skin off' (so *s.v.* δορά).

It is very rarely the case that the definition is M appears plain wrong. One example, it seems to me, is μαυθάνω, 'to learn (a skill, art) + infin.'. The Micah 4.3 reference given in support (and quoted more fully under πολεμέω) reads ... καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ μάθωσι πολεμεῖν, for which 'acquire the habit of' (cf. LSJ *s.v.*, II) is more pertinent.

Typographical errors are few and venial: the diligence in getting a MS of a lexicon as accurate as this one is to be admired. A tiny number of lapses with greek (e.g. p. 29, *s.v.* ἀρνίον, read ἀρήν) and the diacritics (e.g., p. 46, *s.v.* δέρμα, read δορά), the occasional wrong numerals (e.g., p. 138, *s.v.* κοράσιον, read Zc 8.5), and a few sins of commission and omission in punctuation – these pinpricks take nothing away from the achievement of so meticulously checked a volume.

Students of the LXX, and students of Greek more generally, thus suddenly find themselves the beneficiaries of not one, but two valuable lexicographical contributions. Neither is perfect, but each has a distinctive contribution to make, both separately and as complements to one another. Their rather different theoretical views of how the task should be affected should serve as a continuing stimulus to refining the quality of post-classical Greek lexicography. It is Professor Muraoka's lexicon that is under review here, however, so we may conclude by saying that, just as his publishers have done him proud in the expansive layout of the volume, so he has more than repaid that debt in the quality of the contents on which he has allowed them to place their imprint.

G.H.R. HORSLEY

W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, Band II, *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrier (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für antike Rechtsgeschichte, Nr. 6 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 543. Band. Wien, 1989). Pp. 309, map.

The premature death, in June 1994, of Professor Walter Selb has deprived the academic world of one of the very few scholars who combine expertise in Syriac and in the history of ancient law. Of his various publications in the field of Syriac canon law it will be his very useful two-volume introduction, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, that will find the widest readership. The first volume, published in 1981 (and reviewed in this Journal, 21 [1982], pp. 73-5; see also the review by H. Kaufhold

in *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 100 [1983], pp. 727-30), dealt with Canon Law in the Church of the East up to the beginning of the fourteenth century¹; in the present volume Selb has turned his attention to the Syrian Orthodox tradition, covering the same period. The book is divided into two parts; in the first Selb provides a general introduction to Oriental Canon Law, a brief sketch of the historical background, and, above all, an extensive guide to the sources. The second part, by contrast, is on the various ecclesiastical institutions, and here the material is presented thematically. The very detailed list of contents (generously also provided in English and French, as well as German) will prove most useful for the purposes of quick reference to particular documents or topics. There are also helpful indexes of persons, places and manuscripts; an added bonus is a good map (loose) indicating the main sees.

A considerable number of manuscripts contain what is basically the same collection of canon law texts, consisting partly of material translated from Greek (notably the canons of the various councils), and partly of texts whose original language is Syriac. The Damascus manuscripts of AD 1204, published by A. Vööbus under the title *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition* (CSCO 367-8, 375-6, Scr. Syri 161-4; 1975/6), is in fact just one among many such manuscripts; this can be seen very clearly from the series of comparative tables (pp. 100-101, 106-109, 120-127), where the contents (slightly varying) of the different manuscripts containing the same basic collection are set out.

For the texts not translated from Greek, Selb's work naturally covers the same ground as Vööbus' *West-syrische Originalurkunden*, IA-B (CSCO 307, 317, Subsidia 35, 38; 1970), which were the only two volumes to appear of his *Syrische Kanonesammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde*. In these volumes Vööbus goes into much greater detail than does Selb over each individual text, Selb's aim being merely to give a brief introductory guidance. Thus, for example, Dionysius bar Šalibi's Canons (which have a complex textual history) receive a whole chapter of some 35 pages in Vööbus, but only a page in Selb.

A few minor points of detail perhaps deserve mention:

- p. 89: It is not made clear here that the Syrian Orthodox recension of the Canons of the Synod of Seleucia-Ktesiphon (410) differs in some respects from that of the Church of the East; this applies above all to the credal statement. (The matter is correctly set out on p. 135).
- pp. 132-139 (Editions and translations of material from the Synodica): this information in this whole section is perhaps not presented with as great a clarity as would have been desirable for quick reference (a table might have been helpful here). There are also a few omissions and inaccuracies. Thus, the 'Kephalaiā aus dem Osten' were published from Paris syr. 62 by Rahmani in his *Studia Syriaca* III (Sharfet, 1908), pp. 5-23 (they also appear in Vööbus' *Synodicon*, as text XXI).

¹ For subsequent texts, see A. Thazhath, *The Juridical Sources of the Syro-Malabar Church* (Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, 106: Kottayam, 1977).

Subsequent to Selb's publication photographs of at least part of the text of Mardin Orth. 309 (eighth century) have become available: in this manuscript the names of the bishops attending the various early councils are given in Greek as well as in Syriac: these lists have now been published with commentaries independently by V. Ruggieri (*Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 59 [1993], pp. 315-56) and by H. Kaufhold (*Oriens Christianus* 77 [1993], pp. 1-96).

- p. 134: There is a confusion here between two texts that are frequently given the same name: the 'Teaching of the Apostle Addai' in the Damascus 8/11 and some other related canon law manuscripts, is *not* the same as the famous narrative Teaching (Doctrina) of Addai, edited and translated by G. Phillips. The former work, less confusingly known by its other title, the 'Teaching of the Apostles', was edited by de Lagarde from Paris syr. 62 in this *Reliquiae Iuris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimae* (Vienna, 1856), pp. 32-44, and by W. Cureton, from British Library Add. 14644, in his *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London, 1864), pp. 24-35, 24*-35*, as well as by Vööbus in his *Synodicon* (I, pp. 200-208, text XXXIX) from the Damascus manuscript. The work is also known, in fragmentary form, in Sogdian translation, edited by N. Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian Ms C2* (Berliner Turfantexte XII, 1985), pp. 101-9. Part of the text also turns up on a papyrus folio in Florence, edited by J.-M. Sauget in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 45 (1985), pp. 1-16 (a further fragment of what seems to be the same manuscript is now in the Schoyen collection, and will be published in due course; in this second fragment it turns out that only a selection of canons is given). The canons alone, without the narrative introduction and ending, are interpolated into a considerable number of manuscripts of the Didascalia, ed. Vööbus, CSCO 401, *Scriptores Syri* 175 (1979), I, pp. 41-9 (Vööbus had previously provided a collation of the canons, in the *Journal of the Syriac Academy, Baghdad* 1 (1975), pp. 2-21, but there the apparatus is set out in such a way as to be impossible at times to interpret. An Edessene provenance for the Teaching of the Apostles has recently been argued by W. Witakowski, ('The origin of the Teaching of the Apostles', in *IV Symposium Syriacum* [OCA 229; 1987], pp. 161-71).
- p. 135: For the West Syrian recension of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (410), reference to Vööbus' edition of its distinctive text of the creed (*Vigiliae Christianae* 26 [1972], pp. 291-96) and the studies by de Halleux (*Göttinger Orientalforschungen, Syriaca* 17 [1978], pp. 161-90) and Gribomont (in R. Fischer (ed.), *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus* [1977], pp. 283-94) could with advantage have been mentioned.
- p. 153: The text on Oikonomia mentioned here has now been published by Kaufhold in *Oriens Christianus* 73 (1989), pp. 44-67.
- p. 155f: To the list of manuscripts of Barhebraeus' Nomocanon one can add Cairo, Syr. Orth. Church, no. 4 (dated 1872).
- p. 157: For the sources used in Çiçek's edition (1986) of Barhebraeus' Nomocanon, see *Journal of Semitic Studies* 38 (1988), pp. 286-88.

Selb's two-volume introduction to the canon law of the two main Syriac ecclesiastical traditions, covering the period up to the fourteenth century, will certainly prove a most useful guide to this literature, and one that is unlikely to be replaced for many years.

Selb's earliest publication concerning Syriac legal texts was a monograph on the famous Syro-Roman Law Book (*Zur Bedeutung des syrisch-römischen Rechtsbuches*, 1964). In more recent years he had been working, in collaboration with Professor H. Kaufhold, on a much-needed new edition of this important document; it is much to be hoped that, in due course, Professor Kaufhold will be able to bring this work to completion.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

R. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni. Tractatus contra Damianum*, vol. I quae supersunt libri secundi [Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 29] (Brepols: Turnhout – University Press: Louvain, 1994). Pp. LVII + 385.

On opening the volume under review, one is initially surprised to find a text in Syriac edited in the Series Graeca. But a glance at the text immediately reveals the reason for this, namely that the Syriac is a literal translation of a Greek text which, as a fine example of the genre, deserves to count as Greek. Moreover, the original Greek of the work of Peter of Callinicum is otherwise lost, so that it is not surprising that this work is here edited for the first time.

The editors provide the Syriac text edited from a single manuscript, British Library Add. MS 7191. To this they add a brief apparatus, containing a small number of emendations (e.g. p. 181, a case of *daleth* for *resh*). So few and far between are these emendations that one gains the impression that the manuscript has been written with great care. Also found in the apparatus are numerous cross-references to other Syriac texts with which the work may be compared, either in the present volume or in other manuscripts. The former are for the most part references to other occurrences of quotations of a given source, the latter to the few other manuscript sources for sections of the text.

The former category is of particular interest as appearing to indicate that the translator has not had standard translations of these quoted works to which he might refer, but rather translated each quotation as he met it, with the natural result that the translations are not consistent within the work. It may of course be the case that the original Greek contained citations which varied within the work too. A study of these variations would contribute to our understanding of the methodology of the translator. I notice taking some examples at random that these variations are not always noted, as the example on p. 201 lines 235-236 compared with 95:20-21 shows. Here surprisingly the variation between the Syriac texts has not had any impact on the English translation either.

On facing pages is an English translation of the Syriac, with its own line numbering. On this side an apparatus gives cross-references to parallel passages in the

work and identifies the source of each of the citations, with full bibliographical information including line numbers. This apparatus is extremely useful, especially when taken together with the detailed Index Aliorum Fontium (prepared by J. Noret) which lists the multiple occurrences of these citations in great detail.

For all this, the great strength of the work seems to me to be the English translation. It displays throughout a happy balance between the extreme complexities of the rather turgid Syriac (and behind it, Greek!) prose, preserving the sense but remaining quite readable. One senses that the editors have worked long and hard to perfect their translation style, just as the Syriac translators themselves had done before them. Of special value in this connection is the 'Analysis of the Book' found after the Introduction, which gives in a couple of paragraphs the essence of the argument for each section. This provides a painless point of access to the detailed argument that follows.

Also excellent is the brief Introduction to the volume, which discusses in appropriate detail the life of Peter of Callinicus, the occasion of the debate which gave rise to the work, and such matters as the date of the manuscript (seventh century in the view of the editors). The volume is a model of careful and valuable scholarship, and deserves to be used by scholars interested in the sixth and seventh centuries as well as in the style of Syriac translation of technical theology. One might only wish that Peter had been more inclined to quote scripture, since it seems that his work can contribute only little to our knowledge of the text of the Syriac Bible at a crucial period, but in any case it seems that the Syriac translator has followed his Greek *Vorlage* rather than any particular Syriac translation known to him.

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